



**Socio-Economic &
Educational status of
Survivors of the
1984 ANTI-SIKH
RIOTS IN DELHI**

DELHI MINORITIES COMMISSION
GOVERNMENT OF NCT OF DELHI



SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF SURVIVORS OF THE 1984 ANTI-SIKH RIOTS IN DELHI



DELHI MINORITIES COMMISSION

(A Statutory Body Set Up by Delhi Minorities Commission Act, 1999)

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Introduction

The October-November 1984 anti-Sikh riots in the country, especially in the national capital, were a watershed in our post-Independence history. This country has seen many riots but in the anti-Sikh riots of 1984 people saw ruling party leaders and police officers and constables leading rented mobs killing innocent Sikhs, lynching them on streets, burning their houses, shops, workshops and factories. Within days, thousands of male Sikhs were killed, rather lynched, and their families brought to their knees.

According to the Ahuja Committee, 2733 Sikhs were killed in Delhi. However, families of survivors suffered not only due to deaths but also due to other violent crimes like rape, arson and physical violence. While data on exact numbers of families affected by various crimes committed during the riots does not exist, available information suggests that the numbers could be in thousands.

Data collected by the team conducting the current study says that the total number of survivor families living in the areas covered during the field work totaled approximately 3668 families in eight locations. But this is not final as this study has found that many survivor families have moved to different locations outside Delhi, and there are some who are no more traceable due to substantial lapse of time.

Subsequently some relief measures were taken, compensation was paid and very small houses were given to the victim families over many years or even over decades but the violence left a life-long scar on the psyche of these families. Their children could not continue their education and ended up as low-paid and daily-wage earners, unqualified women had to go out to find some employment to feed their families. This set them back and it will take many generations for these families to reclaim their position which they enjoyed before the cruel riots.

One very sad aspect of the riots is that despite the passage of over three decades, the perpetrators of the riots, political, police personnel and members of the rented mob, are yet to be punished. Unless such people are given exemplary punishment, such incidents will continue to happen. This point is supported by subsequent riots like Hashimpura and Maliana massacres in May 1987, Gujarat riots of 2002, and the one-sided and planned violence in Delhi's north-east district towards the end of February 2020.

Delhi Minorities Commission decided to study the current condition of the riots survivors, their families and their new generation. The study is now complete and is being published so that Government of NCT of Delhi, Union Government, NGOs, scholars and general public take note of its conclusions and reasons behind the problems faced by the families of the 1984 riots survivors.

The study has thrown up some unknown facts which should be subject of further study and probe by the concerned departments of the government and research institutions and should lead to a policy decision to take concrete steps to ameliorate the conditions of the 1984 riots victims and their families, as well as all victims of such painful events which tar our society and country.

The main findings of this study may be summed up as under:

- 96% of the surveyed families have availed specific assistance of government, while 3.5% families are in the category of non-receivers.
- Monetary compensation was given by the government in phases: Rs. 10000 in 1985 for fully burnt houses and Rs. 5000 for partially burnt houses, Rs. 10000 in 1987 for those killed during riots, Rs. 3.5 lakh awarded by the Delhi High Court in 1996 to widows and families of those killed, Rs. 3.5 lakh paid in 2006 to those killed besides financial assistance to the injured and those who had lost their property, and Rs. 5 lakh paid in 2014 to next of kin of deceased persons.
- A majority of respondents (57%) said that government assistance was ineffective. While 39% rated the support as moderately effective, the share of those who gave effective rating was only 3%.
- Even survivors who were offered jobs could not achieve the pre-riots economic status of their families, as jobs were given according to their qualifications and not according to their past economic status and experience of the families. Since many of the widows were not highly qualified, the jobs offered to them did not enable them to earn at par with their previous family income. The economic gap so created continues to persist till date.
- The present economic status of many riots victim families has not even reached the level which they enjoyed during the pre-riots period.
- An overwhelming 95% respondents informed that the income is not sufficient for their monthly family expenditure. The share of families with sufficient income is only 4%.
- Over half of the respondents (53%) were found illiterates, while shares of those who have studied up to the primary and secondary levels are 28% and 15% respectively. Only 3% respondents have studied up to the higher secondary level and the share of graduates is only 1%. In other words, most of the literate respondents have studied only up to secondary level.
- Children who do not go to schools belong to two different categories — those who have never attended schools or ever studied and those who have dropped out. While 22% of families having non-school-going children belong to the first category, the share of families with dropout children is 78%.
- Riots adversely affected education of children in terms of quality and continuity. While children of 28% families could not receive quality education and those of 24% families discontinued their studies due to fear, children in 15% families were forced to discontinue studies and take up jobs after riots as earning money took precedence over education due to loss of the family income. The study reveals that children of 10% families could not be suitably educated due to lack of family income and 9% families could not manage continuation of their children's education as they lived in relief camps.
- While 40% families are living in low-income residential area, the shares of those in middle income and high income group areas are 35% and 19% respectively.
- While monthly incomes of little over half of the families are in the range of Rs. 10000-20000, little over one-fourths of the surveyed families earn Rs. 10000 or less.

- Access of families of survivors to insurance is very limited, as only 13% families have some type of access to life insurance. While all family members of only 4% families have access to life insurance, 6% families have access for only some of their members.
- Access to health insurance is even more limited, as 92% families replied in the negative. Out of 8% families with access to the facility, only 2% families have all the members enjoying the benefit.
- Three-fourths of the total families are living in houses which are not reasonably spacious for all their family members; and 42% of the houses are in dilapidated condition.
- The study found that only 8% of the surveyed families are beneficiaries of different welfare schemes and programmes of the government like benefitting from the Public Distribution System and free education in government schools. This leaves 92% families who do not avail of any entitlements under government schemes.

Challenges: The study highlights top three challenges in descending order: meagre family income (55%), unemployment (36%) and inability to receive quality education (14%).

Other socio-economic and educational challenges include low social status, feeling of isolation due to Sikh identity, mental trauma, housing, failure to groom children properly, drug addiction, delay in education, discrimination by government officers, and re-establishment of business.

Required measures to uplift the riots survivors: The study suggests a number of measures for the socio-economic and educational development and uplift of the riot survivors and their families, like provision of a government job to at least one family member; financial compensation to non-recipients of any benefits so far; free education in private schools, access to good quality education, and support to establish new businesses by provision of low-interest credit. The plots given to these families should be converted to freehold to give them mental comfort and reassurance, and allow them mobility if they wish.

Other suggested measures are provision of free water and free electricity, skill-training and placement, pension for survivors, efforts against drug addiction, provision of medical assistance and timely reward of compensation.

We hope that the conclusions of this study will be studied with all seriousness by the concerned departments of the Government of NCT of Delhi, especially the issues of education, poverty and health so that the lot of these victims may be elevated and their lost opportunities restored to them so that they too may enjoy the fruits of development that others are enjoying.

We present this report to the Government of NCT of Delhi and the Union Government with the hope that its contents will be seriously studied and steps will be taken to uplift the conditions of the anti-Sikh riots victims and their children. If these are implemented in the right spirit, the suggested steps will go a long way to correct a historic injustice and help the victims to start their journey afresh to join the mainstream with dignity and pride.

Dr Zafarul-Islam Khan, Chairman
Kartar Singh Kochhar, Member
Anastasia Gill, Member

DELHI MINORITIES COMMISSION

27 May 2020

Preface

The National Capital Territory of Delhi witnessed one of the most horrific riots in post-independence India in 1984 following the assassination of Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, on 31 October 1984 by two of her Sikh security guards. The riots resulted in the massacre of 2,733 Sikhs and destruction of unimaginable magnitude in Delhi in addition to other places which are not covered by this study.

As the attacks were savagely directed at adult male Sikhs, many families lost all their male members including breadwinners, besides suffering losses of properties and all means of livelihood. Despite governmental support for rehabilitation, available literature and tales of survivors suggest denial of justice until today. Victim families continue to face hardships due to gaps in rehabilitation schemes.

In the absence of any substantive macro-level study, it is not possible to understand the socio-economic and educational status of these families and the challenges that preclude social bonding, economic empowerment and educational attainment of the survivors and new generation of the victims.

This study titled ‘Socio-Economic and Educational Status of Survivors of 1984 anti-Sikh Riots in Delhi’ is an attempt on part of the Delhi Minorities Commission (DMC) to delve into the conditions of survivors and to understand the challenges they face, which in turn would contribute to the implementation of suitable measures of rehabilitation.

Human Development Society (HDS), an organization with over 17 years of experience in exploratory research, project evaluation, monitoring, preparation of theoretical frameworks, documentation and implementation of development action projects, was entrusted by DMC with the task of conducting the study.

The research team visited areas in Delhi that are known for habitation of families of survivors of 1984 riots and interacted with different stakeholders according to the methods for data collection. The report has been prepared keeping in view the objectives of research.

It is important to note that HDS faced immense administrative difficulties during the course of report writing, as it happened in the midst of a lockdown due to outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic. It is, however, a matter satisfaction that the research could be completed despite multiple roadblocks. We are hopeful that the findings and recommendations of the study would serve the intended purpose.

HDS is thankful to the Delhi Minorities Commission, Government of NCT of Delhi, for giving it an opportunity to conduct this study. We are grateful to the survivors, their family members, and people of the Sikh community including the key informants for sharing invaluable inputs without which the study could not have been completed.

The members of research team namely Shalini, Sanjeev and Sarita deserve appreciation for successfully conducting the field work despite difficulties in locating families in some places, analyzing data, and providing necessary clarifications during the course of the report writing.

Anil Kumar Das
Director,
Human Development Society

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AC: Air Conditioner

CBOs: Community-based organisations

DMC: Delhi Minorities Commission

FGDs: Focus group discussions

HDS: Human Development Society

KIIs: Key informant interviews

LPG: Liquefied Petroleum Gas

NCT: National Capital Territory

NGOs: Non-governmental organisations

PG: Post Graduation

PDS: Public Distribution System

SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Sciences

TV: Television

Executive Summary

The assassination of Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, in the national capital on 31 October 1984 by her two Sikh security guards was followed by the infamous anti-Sikh riots that started soon after, in the evening of the very day of her death.

While over 3000 Sikhs were killed across the country, the National Capital Territory (NCT) witnessed the worst massacre with 2733 deaths and destruction of unimaginable magnitude. Many Sikh families lost all their male members including breadwinners, and their houses and properties were burned down resulting in complete destruction of shelter and all means of livelihood. Although the event left in its wake devastated, traumatic and uprooted survivors, the process of reparation has never been complete despite substantial lapse of time.

The findings of the Justice Nanavati Commission (2000-04), the Special Investigation Team (2018-19) led by retired Justice S N Dhingra, civil society organisations, and news and other reports highlight gaps not only in delivery of justice but also in the process of rehabilitation of survivors.

Although available literature highlights persistent trauma and denial of justice, it is difficult to find any substantive study that captures the present socio-economic and educational status of the survivors empirically by analyzing views, experiences and conditions of living. A macro-level picture is to a great extent missing in existing narrative.

Notwithstanding the initiatives of government for rehabilitation; gaps in existing literature conveys an impression that the families of survivors are now living in a state of contentment. Is this the reality? Or, do they require handholding for socio-economic and educational empowerment? Finding answers to these questions and addressing the gap in literature lie at the core of the present research.

Objectives

The objectives of the study are to analyse current socio-economic and educational status of survivors and their families, and to identify challenges that preclude social cohesion, economic development and educational attainment. In the end, the purpose is to recommend measures that would neutralize identified challenges.

Methodology

This is an exploratory, descriptive and explanatory study. While the ‘exploratory’ nature is an overarching dimension that intends to scope out socio-economic and educational status and the nature of challenges; ‘descriptive’ aspect is located in the need to document the status and views of the targeted stakeholders while the ‘explanatory’ nature stems from the need to understand the causal factors and outcomes of the challenges faced by the targeted people.

While survivors of the 1984 anti-Sikh riots were the primary focus of data collection for this study, views of community leaders and others working for the cause of survivors were gathered in order to develop a macro-level understanding of socio-economic and educational status. In view of the exploratory and empirical nature of study, methods of data collection focused on direct in-person interaction and observation of certain physical parameters namely conditions of housing and nature of community or society they live in.

The methods employed for data collection included review of literature, interviews of 360 survivors and their family members, five focus group discussions, five key informant interviews and observation of physical parameters relating to living conditions and housing. The research team interacted with DMC in phases keeping in view the needs of research.

This study covered eight localities namely Tilak Vihar (Widows Colony), Raja Garden, Punjabi Bagh, Chander Vihar, Hari Nagar, Rohini, Khayala and Vishnu Garden.

Salient Findings

Profile of Survivors and their Families

The survivors are mostly females in the age group of 46 years and above. Their families are moderately big with over half of them having more than five members. Over four-fifths families have up to three living survivors, and very few have four or more survivors. All families were relocated to their current locations between 1985 and 1990. The families are mostly living in either low or middle income group localities, and some of these areas have large numbers of youth addicted to drugs, alcohol and gambling.

Socio-Economic Status of Families of Survivors

- **Social Status:** The families mostly live in areas of Sikh majority or exclusively of Sikh residents. Social cohesion is largely evident, as they hardly face any challenging situations in the neighbourhood. Safety and security of survivors and their families is not a major concern. Presence of civil society groups in the areas is negligible.
- **Occupation and Income:** Engagement of families in private sector employment is high (over half of the sample), although there are families which depend on daily-wage labour, self-employed professions and employment in the government sector. Most of the families belong to low income group. The monthly income of nearly four-fifths of the sample is in the range of Rs. 20000 or less. The economic status of a majority of families has not improved since the time of the riots. A majority of the families surveyed have less purchasing power, less capability to fulfill current needs, and less ability to save for future. Prevalence of unemployment is another challenge which affects their economic well-being. These youth are not highly employable as they lack skills and are not highly qualified.
- **Financial Hardship:** Nearly all families in the sample face financial hardship as they are unable to meet expenditure due to inadequate disposable income. This is due to high cost of living in the city and non-availability of regular jobs. But prevalence of financial liability is low as the families mostly avoid taking loans.
- **Access to Insurance and Banking:** Families have not achieved financial security against loss due to death or unforeseen events. Access to life and health insurance is very limited in the sample surveyed. However, their ability to save money and secure assets is high as most of them hold accounts in banks.
- **Housing:** Most of the families live in their own houses (97%), which is a mark of stability in life. But absence of reasonably spacious houses, as in case of three-fourths families, is not conducive for mental and emotional development and peace of mind.
- **Welfare Schemes/Programmes of Government:** Contribution of programmes and schemes of government to welfare of families is very limited (only 8%). However, most of the families have availed one benefit or another as survivors of the 1984 riots, like houses, cash compensation and jobs. However, these benefits have largely been either ineffective or moderately effective as they were given in phases spreading over several

years and even decades at time. They have not been able to rehabilitate the survivors adequately.

- **Non-Governmental Support to Survivors:** Support of NGOs and civil society to survivors has been very limited, and was available only during the first few years after the riots.

Educational Status of Families of Survivors

- **Level of Educational Attainment:** The families are deprived of the empowering influence of education due to low level of educational attainment of its members. However, it is encouraging to find a high degree of access of children to school and pre-school education.
- **Gender Divide and Prevalence of Child Labour:** Gender divide in education is absent, as the families accord equal importance to girl and boy education. Child labour is also almost absent.

Key Challenges

- **Nature of Financial Loss, and damages to Families:** Burning of houses, robbery and killing of family members during riots are found to be three most manifest damages having financial and non-financial ramifications.
- **Nature of Loss to Education:** The horrific riots resulted in lack of access to good education, discontinuation of studies due to fear and engagement in labour, inability of families to financially support education of their children, and other constraining factors due to death of bread-winners and destruction of means of livelihood.
- **Nature of Present Socio-Economic and Educational Challenges:** Families of survivors in general presently face three key challenges *viz.*, low income, unemployment, and inability to support quality education. While social challenges like low social status, feeling of isolation due to Sikh identity and drug addiction are present; they are less visible in comparison to economic challenges faced by these families. Families now want quality and higher education but are unable to afford it due to their poor economic status.

Recommendations

Identified challenges	Recommendations to address the challenge	Agencies for implementation
Low social status, feeling of isolation, drug addiction and gambling	Targeted campaigns with the help of IEC material and community meetings with participation of both Sikh and non-Sikh people	DMC/Welfare Department of Delhi Govt. in partnership with NGOs, CBOs and civil society groups active in the concerned areas

Families face unemployment, and less purchasing power, capability to fulfill needs, and ability to save for future	Skills training for unemployed youth and women of different age groups. Skills should be identified by factoring in their potential for wage and self-employment, and scope of engagement in areas the trainees live in.	DMC/Welfare Department of Delhi Govt. in partnership with NGOs, CBOs, civil society groups and government skills training institutes
Inadequate access to life and health insurance	Targeted campaigns for sensitizing people for accessing insurance and other financial instruments like mutual fund that contribute to financial security	DMC in partnership with NGOs, CBOs and civil society groups active in the concerned areas
Low access to entitlements, and welfare programmes and schemes	Efforts should be made by concerned government departments and agencies to plug the holes in the system in order to achieve access of all those who are eligible.	Departments of Social Welfare, Food and Civil Supplies, Education, district-level agencies and others responsible for administration of various schemes and programmes. DMC may play the role of facilitator.
Inability of families to afford quality education for their children	Government may provide merit-cum-means scholarships and access to tutorial services to all deserving children under a special scheme for the riot survivors. This may run at least for the next 20 years.	Department of Education. Private tutorial service providers may be roped in on a cost sharing basis.
Non-receipt of financial compensation	Government may consider giving jobs to extremely deserving cases and financial compensation/pension to non-receivers after conducting proper assessment of needs and genuineness of each case. Provision of credit facility at low interest rates for those planning to start new businesses may also be considered.	Government of NCT of Delhi. DMC may liaise with concerned departments and play the role of a facilitator. Banks and other institutional creditors, and concerned departments of the Government of NCT of Delhi.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Background and Justification

Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, was assassinated by her two Sikh security guards on 31 October 1984. The anti-Sikh riots that started soon after in the evening of 31 October and continued till 5 November 1984, although the situation started showing signs of improvement on 3 November, resulted in death of hundreds of Sikhs, physical torture, and widespread arson and loot of properties of the Sikh population. While over 3000 Sikhs were killed across the country, the National Capital Territory (NCT) was the worst affected with 2733 deaths and destruction of unimaginable magnitude. Many Sikh families lost all their male members including breadwinners, and their houses and business establishments were burnt down leading to complete destruction of sources of livelihood and places of living. The extent of attacks, especially on adult male Sikhs, was intensely savage which can be gauged from the name of a resettlement colony of survivors in Tilak Nagar area of West Delhi that came to be known as ‘Widows Colony’, housing most of the widows and their family members.

Attar Kaur, a survivor of the anti-Sikh riots in which her husband and 11 other members of her extended family lost their lives said, while talking to a journalist, “*Har saal November mein media wale aate hain, aankhein ro-ro ke dukh jaati hain, mudda utha hai, phir saal bhar chutti.* (Every November mediapersons come calling; my eyes hurt from crying. The issue is raised for a few days and then forgotten for the rest of the year).”¹

Highlighting the adverse consequences of riots for education and economic status of survivors, Kuldeep Kaur, another survivor said, “...My three children saw their father being burnt alive in front of their eyes; they didn't attend school. And now, my son drives an e-rickshaw; what future will he give to his children.”² These remarks indicate the lip-service paid to survivors’ demand for justice, and the nature of adverse impact of the riots on their level of education and economic condition. The findings of the Nanavati Commission (2000-04), headed by retired Justice G T Nanavati³, the Special Investigation Team (2018-19) led by retired Justice S N Dhingra⁴, civil society organisations like the People's Union for Democratic Rights, People's Union for Civil Liberties⁵, and several news and other reports⁶ highlight gaps not only in

¹ “1984 anti-Sikh riots: Time does not heal the pain. Ask Attar Kaur”, *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), 1 November 2017. Available at <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/33-years-on-wounds-of-anti-sikh-riots-victims-haven-t-healed/story-cNdTXWtKQ8D6Y3vtpX32TJ.html>. Retrieved on 14 February 2020

² “1984 riots shut our doors to a better life”, *The Week*, 31 October 2017. Available at <https://www.theweek.in/webworld/features/society/1984-riots-shut-our-doors-to-a-better-life.html>. Retrieved on 16 March 2017

³ *Justice Nanavati Commission of Inquiry (1984 Anti-Sikh Riots)*. Available at https://mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/Nanavati-I_eng_3.pdf

⁴ Yadav, P. N. “54 Cases, 426 Murdered and None Convicted: How Police, Judiciary Ensured 1984 Rioters Are Not Punished”, *Outlook*, 24 January 2020. Available at <https://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/india-news-police-judiciary-ensured-1984-anti-sikh-rioters-are-not-punished-sit-report/346172>

⁵ “Who are guilty? Causes and Impact of the Delhi Riots”, *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 49, Issue No. 41, 11 October 2014. Available at <https://www.epw.in/journal/2014/41/glimpses-past-web-exclusives/who-are-guilty.html>. Downloaded on 14 February 2020

delivery of justice by punishing the perpetrators but also in the process of reparation by addressing needs for rehabilitation of survivors.

Although available literature and tales of survivors, like the ones noted above, portray their lingering trauma and hardships, it is difficult to find any substantive study that captures their present status empirically by analyzing their views, experiences and conditions of living.

While available literature overwhelmingly focuses on delay in delivering justice due to faulty investigation, lapses on the part of prosecution and loopholes in trials, as most of the perpetrators remain unpunished despite substantial lapse of time; a macro-level picture in regard to socio-economic and educational conditions of survivors is to a great extent missing in the narrative that exists today.

Notwithstanding the measures implemented by the government in terms of providing monetary compensation, alternate accommodation and other benefits; inadequate availability of substantive literature on the socio-economic and educational status conveys an impression that rehabilitation is no more a priority need of survivors. Is this the reality? Are the survivors and their families by and large living in a state of contentment? Or, do they face challenges, directly emanating from the riots, that preclude them from leading a normal life? Do they require hand-holding and alternate means for socio-economic and educational empowerment and uplift?

Answers to these questions lie at the core of present research. In view of the gap in existing literature, there is a need to generate empirical data and build a macro-level narrative by seeking answers to the above questions. With focus on socio-economic and educational status, the study is an attempt to understand the level of development these people have attained, as reflected in their present status. The findings and recommendations of study are expected to provide inputs for programmes and policies for socio-economic and educational development of the survivors and their children.

For the purpose of the present research, a survivor has been defined as ‘a person who remained alive after the anti-Sikh riots of 1984 in which the person’s family was attacked leading to death, incapacitation, physical or sexual assault of family members, destruction of property, and/or other collateral damages.’

1.2. Objectives

The objectives of the study are to:

- Analyse the social status of survivors with focus on relationship with neighbourhood, safety, social participation and other related aspects
- Analyse their present economic status and the nature of challenges that preclude economic development and participation in society.

⁶ “India: No Justice for 1984 Anti-Sikh Bloodshed” *Human Rights Watch* (New York), 29 October 2014. Available at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2014/10/29/india-no-justice-1984-anti-sikh-bloodshed>. Downloaded on 11 April 2020; “1984 anti-Sikh riots: HC upholds conviction, 5-yr jail term of 70 rioters”, *The Economic Times*, 28 November 2018. Available at <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/1984-anti-sikh-riots-hc-upholds-conviction-of-80-people/articleshow/66846675.cms?from=mdr>. Retrieved on 11 April 2020; “1984 anti-Sikh riots: Time does not heal the pain. Ask Attar Kaur” *Ibid.*; “Anti-Sikh riot cases set to be reopened”, *Deccan Herald*, 16 January 2020. Available at <https://www.deccanherald.com/national/anti-sikh-riot-cases-set-to-be-reopened-795002.html>. Retrieved on 12 April 2020

- Understand the level of access to education and factors that inhibit educational attainment.
- Recommend measures that would neutralize challenges and pave the way for social, economic and educational development of survivors.

1.3. Methodology

This is an exploratory, descriptive and explanatory research. The ‘exploratory’ nature of study is an overarching dimension that intends to scope out socio-economic and educational status of survivors and the nature of challenges faced by them in this regard. While the ‘descriptive’ aspect is located in the need to document the status and views of targeted stakeholders (‘what’ and ‘when’ of different aspects of study), and the ‘explanatory’ nature stems from the need to understand the causal factors and outcomes of the challenges faced by the targeted people (‘why’ and ‘how’ type of questions).

Keeping in view the nature of research, quantitative and qualitative inputs were collected from the different stakeholders by applying appropriate methods as noted below. While survivors of the 1984 anti-Sikh riots were the primary focus of the data collection, views of community leaders and others working for the cause of survivors were necessary in order to develop a macro-level understanding of the socio-economic and educational status of the survivors.

In view of the exploratory and empirical nature of the study, methods of data collection focused on direct in-person interaction with survivors and observation of certain physical parameters namely conditions of housing and nature of community or society they live in. It was also considered necessary to gain insights into available literature in view of its bearing on understanding the context of research and nature of riots. The methods employed for data collection and data analysis are narrated below.

1.3.1. Methods for Data Collection

Collection of data involved application of the following methods.

- Review of literature;
- Interviews of survivors or their adult family members;
- Focus group discussions (FGDs) with survivors and their family members;
- Key informant interviews (KIIs) covering community leaders and people working for the cause of survivors;
- Physical observation;
- Interaction with DMC.

Review of literature: The research team reviewed available literature on the anti-Sikh riots which included news reports, blog posts, reports of Commissions, Committees and Special Investigation Team, court judgements and articles.

Besides establishing absence of macro-level research as noted in the earlier section on background and justification, the exercise contributed to understanding of the topic of research, preparation of research tools and analyses in the report.

Interviews of survivors and their adult family members: This was the principal method of data collection. Details of the coverage of the targeted population are noted in different components of sampling plan below.

- **Sampling frame:** A Sikh family preferably with at least one living survivor was considered as a sampling unit of the study. According to the Ahuja Committee, 2733 Sikhs were killed in Delhi. However, families of survivors suffered not only due to deaths but also other violent crimes like rape, arson and physical violence. While data on exact numbers of families affected by various crimes committed during the riots are not available, news reports⁷, number of affidavits filed before Commissions of inquiry⁸, and findings of Justice Nanavati Commission⁹ suggest that the number could be in thousands. In order to arrive at a reasonably correct figure, the research team collated data on the total number of survivor families living in each area covered during the field work, and found approximately 3668 families in eight locations.¹⁰
- It also came to our notice during discussions with community members that many survivor families have moved to different locations outside Delhi, and there are some who are no more traceable due to substantial lapse of time. Keeping in view these constraining factors and the approximate total figure noted above, the number of survivor families in the city is found to be approximately 4000 at the maximum. This is the universe of study.
- **Sampling method:** Selection of households for interviewing survivors was made randomly. However, convenience sampling method was also applied in case of respondents who were readily available and could be approached conveniently in conformity with ethical standards, as noted in the concerned section below. Wherever necessary, support of community members was sought to locate the households.
- **Sample size:** Considering the universe of the study noted above and the need to achieve 95% confidence level and 5% margin of error, the sample size was fixed at 351. However, the research team could cover nine more respondents, making the total 360 as final sample size. The table below shows distribution of sample in eight localities covered during field work:

⁷ <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/special-report/story/19841215-paralysed-by-fear-and-shock-delhi-anti-sikh-riot-victims-face-grim-uncertain-future-803507-1984-12-15>; <https://www.news18.com/news/india/he-should-have-been-hanged-for-victims-of-1984-riots-verdict-on-sajjan-kumar-is-too-little-too-late-1976229.html>

⁸ A total of 3752 affidavits were filed before Justice Ranganath Mishra Commission. While 2557 affidavits were filed before Justice Nanavati Commission of Inquiry, it also received about 5000 more affidavits of general nature seeking compensation due to loss caused to properties. *Justice Nanavati Commission of Inquiry (1984 Anti-Sikh Riots)*, *op. cit.*, pp.17-18

⁹ While accepting Ahuja Committee finding on number of deaths as “more or less correct”, Justice Nanavati Commission of Inquiry noted, “Big mobs armed with weapons attacked the houses of Sikhs; male members were assaulted and beaten mercilessly and many of them were burnt alive or cut into pieces. ... Large number of shops and business establishments of Sikhs were looted and many of them were thereafter burnt also. Many taxi stands and taxis were also burnt as mainly Sikhs were in that business. This was the pattern of attack on the Sikhs.” *Justice Nanavati Commission of Inquiry (1984 Anti-Sikh Riots)*, *op. cit.* p.17;

¹⁰ Field work for data collection was conducted in eight localities of Delhi, which are known settlements of survivors of 1984 anti-Sikh riots. The areas and approximate number of survivor families living in them are Tilak Vihar (Widow Colony)- 2500, Raja Garden- 500, Punjabi Bagh- 300, Chander Vihar- 25, Hari Nagar- 17, Rohini- 300, Khayala- 14 and Vishnu Garden- 12.

Table 1.1: Coverage of families for interviews

Area	Number	Percent
Tilak Vihar (Widow Colony)	180	50
Raja Garden	59	16
Punjabi Bagh	34	10
Chander Vihar	5	1
Hari Nagar	5	1
Rohini	71	20
Khayala	4	1
Vishnu Garden	2	1
Total	360	100

- **Research tool:** A structured interview schedule containing questions on social, economic and educational conditions of survivors was used for interviewing the targeted population. Questions were both open and close-ended. The interview schedule was pilot-tested and suitably modified, keeping in view the field inputs and comments of the DMC, prior to its final administration. All these interviews were conducted in person.

FGDs with survivors and their family members: The research team conducted five FGDs in residential areas where field work was conducted. These discussions were held in an informal community setting wherein participants were free to share their views and experiences in regard to the riots, present living conditions, status of education and related issues. Each FGD had five to seven participants. An open-ended format containing salient points for discussion was used for conducting these discussions.

KIIs covering community leaders and people working for the cause of survivors: The research team interviewed five key informants who included community leaders and people known for their work for the survivors of the anti-Sikh riots. A semi-structured interview schedule was used for the purpose of conducting these interviews.

Physical observation: Observation of physical parameters was helpful for gathering inputs on living conditions of survivors, their housing status and nature of community they live in. For convenience, questions on physical observation were integrated into the interview schedule for survivors referred to above.

Interaction with DMC: Interaction with DMC took place during different stages of research. While understanding expectations of the Commission was the focus of the first interaction that happened soon after the sanction of the project, subsequent interactions were meant for finalizing research tools and the report.

1.3.2. Methods for Data Analysis

The following methods were used for analyzing data:

Scrutiny and data cleaning: Each completed interview schedule was scrutinized to find out inaccuracies, inconsistencies and omissions, which were subsequently rectified in consultation with field researchers and respondents. The purpose of the exercise was to make the schedules fit for data entry. This was followed by data entry in MS Excel software. Thereafter, data cleaning was done to find out incorrect entries and rectify the same.

Analysis of Quantitative Data: Analysis of quantitative coded data was done with the help of SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) in order to arrive at frequencies, percentages etc. as per the needs of research. Following these calculations, appropriate tables, charts etc. were prepared.

Analysis of Qualitative Data: Interpretation and analysis of qualitative data were done at two levels. First, answers to open-ended questions in the schedule for survivors were studied and coded keeping in view the frequently occurring key words or contents in them. Following coding of answers, frequencies and percentages of coded answers were arrived at with the help of SPSS. Second, views of key informants and inputs gathered during FGDs were subjected to interpretative analysis keeping in view the objectives of research. Views of survivors could be complemented with the inputs received from key informants, which in turn contributed to quality of analysis.

1.4. Ethical Principles

The study was conducted in conformity with the following ethical principles:

- Informed consent is an important ethical principle. The members of research team, therefore, explained to potential respondents the purpose of interaction and solicited their permission for interview/discussion before starting the conversation.
- Participation in the process of data collection was voluntary in nature.
- The members of research team spoke to respondents respectfully and did not act or say anything that would either physically or mentally harm them or the people in their fraternity.
- The research team scrupulously maintained quality and confidentiality of data all through the period of study.

Chapter 2

Profile of Survivors and their Families

Survivors and their families form the core of present research. Their views and experiences of life are the principal bases on which conclusions of the study have been arrived at and recommendation have been made. It is, therefore, important to understand different aspects of their general profile like nature of link with the riots, age, residential status, etc. before analyzing data on socio-economic and educational status.

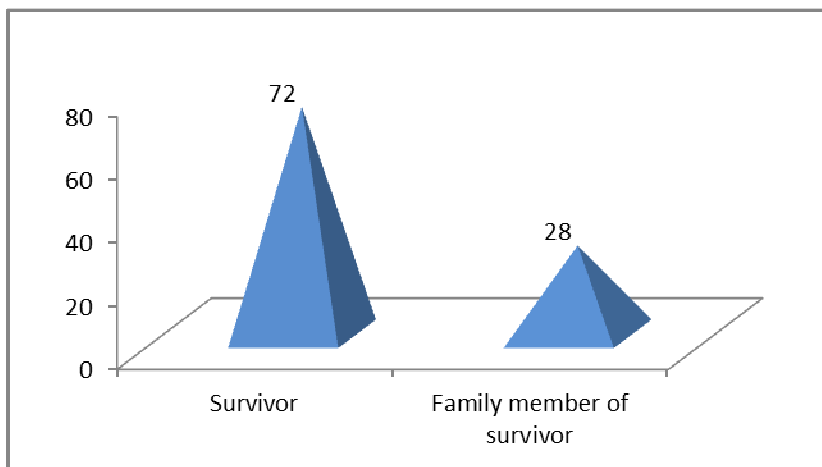
2.1. Link with the Riots

Out of total respondents, 72% are survivors of the 1984 anti-Sikh riots. The remaining 28% are adult family members of the survivors. The latter category of respondents belongs to families whose survivors were either unwilling or unavailable for conversation with research team.

Table 2.1: Respondent's link with the 1984 riots

Link with riots	Number	Percent
Survivor	260	72
Family member of survivor	100	28
Total	360	100

Chart 2.1: Respondent's link with the 1984 riots (percentage)



2.2. Gender and Age

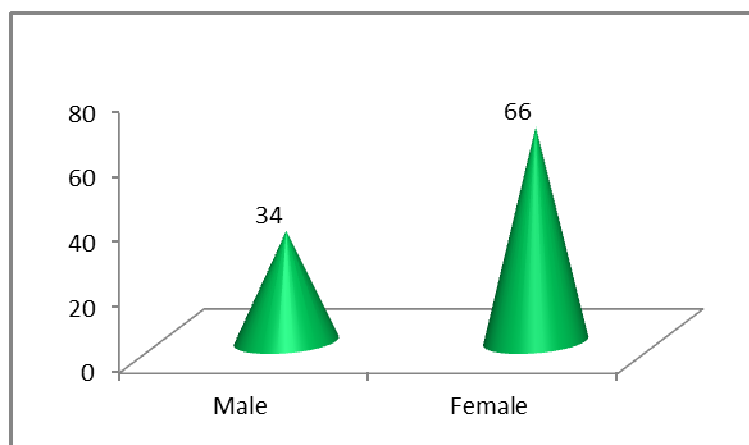
2.2.1. Gender

Female respondents constitute almost two-thirds of the sample. The remaining respondents are males.

Table 2.2: Respondent's gender identity

Gender	Number	Percent
Male	124	34
Female	236	66
Total	360	100

Chart 2.2: Respondent's gender identity (percentage)



2.2.2. Age

Respondents in the age group of 46 to 60 years have the highest share in the sample (39%). While the second and third positions go to those in age groups of 31 to 45 years (28%) and 61 to 70 years (23%) respectively, share of respondents in their seventies is only 6%. The youngest respondents (18 to 30 years of age) have the lowest share (4%).

By establishing relationship between the age of respondents and their link with the riots, the study found that survivors are mostly in the older age groups of 46 years and above (see table 2.4). This shows that they were either children or very young — mostly in their twenties at the time of the riots in 1984.

Table 2.3: Age of respondents

Age	Number	Percent
18-30 years	15	4
31-45 years	99	28
46-60 years	139	39
61-70 years	84	23
Above 70 years	23	6
Total	360	100

Chart 2.3: Age of respondents (percentage)

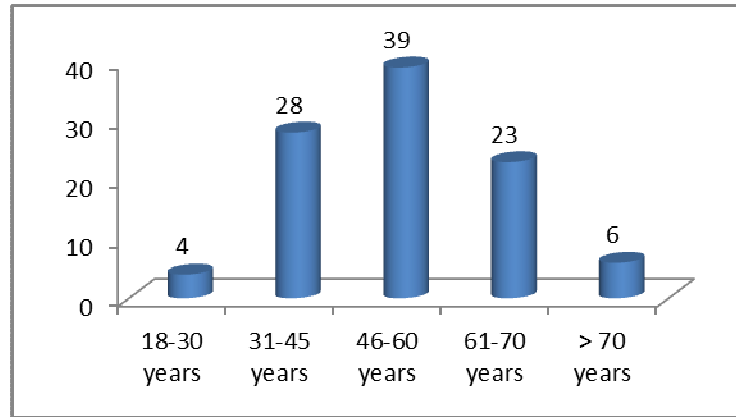


Table 2.4: Relationship between age and link with riots

Link with riots	Age									
	18-30 yrs		31-45 yrs		46-60 yrs		61-70 yrs		Above 70 yrs	
	No.	%age	No.	%age	No.	%age	No.	%age	No.	%age
Survivor	1	7	32	32	123	88	81	96	23	100
Family member of survivor	14	93	67	68	16	12	3	4	0	0
Total	15	100	99	100	139	100	84	100	23	100

2.3. Position of Survivors in Families

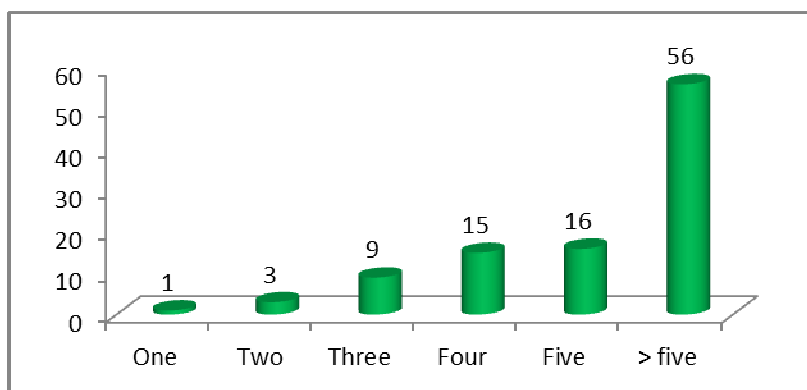
2.3.1. Composition of Families

Composition of families of the survivors shows that over half of them (56%) have more than five persons as family members. While shares of families with five and four members are almost equal (16% and 15% respectively), small families with one, two and three members are few- 1%, 3% and 9% respectively.

Table 2.5: Composition of families of survivors

Number of family members	Number	Percent
One	5	1
Two	12	3
Three	33	9
Four	53	15
Five	56	16
More than five	201	56
Total	360	100

Chart 2.4: Composition of families of survivors (percentage)



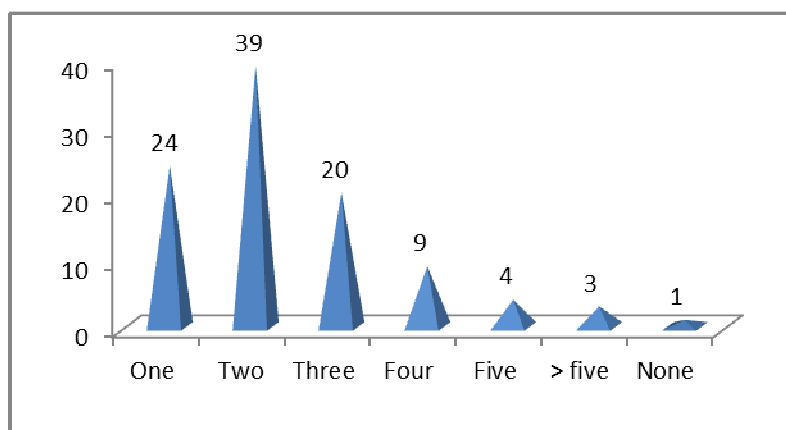
2.3.2. Status of Survivors in Families

Ascertaining the number of survivors currently living in families, the study found that those with two survivors have the highest share (39%). While 24% families have only one survivor, this category is followed by those with three living survivors (21%). The shares of families with four, five and more than five survivors are 9%, 4% and 3% respectively. In other words, over four-fifths of families have either one or two or three living survivors, and those with four or more survivors are very few in number.

Table 2.6: Number of riot survivors presently living in the family

Number of riot survivors	Number	Percent
One	87	24
Two	139	39
Three	74	20
Four	32	9
Five	13	4
More than five	12	3
None	3	1
Total	360	100

Chart 2.5: Number of riot survivors presently living in family (percentage)



The study further found that over two-thirds of the total families have only one female survivor and corresponding share for male is 46%. While share of families with two male survivors is

24% and those with two female survivors is 10%, families with three male and three female survivors constitute 9% and 3% of total families respectively. As table 2.7 shows, shares of families with four and more male and female survivors are not significant. The above findings indicate that the share of female survivors is more than males and most of the families have only one male or female survivor. Higher number of female survivors in comparison to males is in sync with the scenario of riots that had witnessed killings of more male Sikhs than females.

Table 2.7: Number of male and female riot survivors presently living in the family

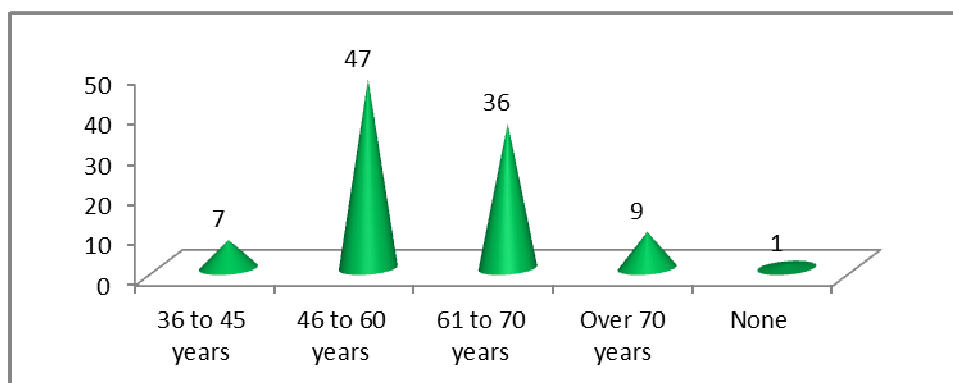
	Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
One	167	46	242	67
Two	85	24	36	10
Three	33	9	10	3
Four	9	3	1	0.5
Five	5	1	1	0.5
More than five	0	0	2	1
None	61	17	68	19
Total	360	100	360	100

Data on the age of the oldest survivors show that nearly half of them are now in the age group of 46 to 60 years and 36% are in the category of 61 to 70 years. While 9% are septuagenarians, oldest survivors of only 7% families are in the age group of 36 to 45 years.

Table 2.8: Age of the oldest survivor in families

Age	Number	Percent
36 to 45 years	27	7
46 to 60 years	168	47
61 to 70 years	130	36
Over 70 years	32	9
None	3	1
Total	360	100

Chart 2.6: Age of the oldest survivor in families (percentage)



2.4. Relocation of Residence

The study found that all the families were relocated to their current locations following the riots. But the relocation happened in phases starting from the year 1985. As the table below indicates, 38% families (the highest) were relocated in 1987. This is followed by 21% families relocated in 1990, 19% in 1985 and 16% in 1986 in descending order. While 3% respondents could not recall the year of relocation, the shares of 1988 and 1989 are not significant — only 2% and 1% respectively.

Table 2.9: Years of residence relocation

Year	Number	Percent
1985	71	19
1986	57	16
1987	137	38
1988	7	2
1989	2	1
1990	74	21
Don't remember	12	3
Total	360	100

The study also collected names of the areas in Delhi where families of survivors used to reside at the time of the riots. Nearly three-fourths of the families came from riot hotspots of East and North West districts. While 8% each came from North East and West districts and 5% had their families in Shahdara; 1% each came from Central Delhi, South West and South districts. The table below shows the previous locations of survivors in each district:

Table 2.10: Locations of residence at the time of riots

District	Area	Number	Percent
East	Trilokpuri, Geeta Colony, Shakarpur, Kalyanpur and Vinod Nagar	128	36
North East	Seelampur, Nandnagri, Seemapuri, Jhilmil Colony, Yamuna Vihar, Usmanpur, Madhu Vihar and Shastri Nagar	28	8
West	Nangloi, Sagarpur, Dabri, Hari Nagar, Uttam Nagar, Raghubir Nagar, Hardev Nagar, Vishnu Garden, Bindapur and Shahpura	30	8
North west	Mangolpuri and Sultanpuri	138	38
Shahdara	Shahdara	16	5
Central Delhi	India Gate	3	1
South west	Najafgarh and Palam	4	1
South	Madangir, Dakshinpuri and Khanpur	5	1
Do not know		8	2
Total		360	100

2.5. Nature of Society

The since socio-economic and educational status of families is often influenced by the kind of society or community they live in. The research team gathered inputs in this regard through observation of living conditions and available physical infrastructure.

While 40% families are living in low income residential area, the shares of those in middle income and high income group areas are 35% and 19% respectively. In other words, three-fourths of the total survivor families are living in either low income or middle income group localities. There are also 6% families which are living in areas known for habitation of self-employed households. It is, however, worrisome to find 8% families which are living in areas that have a majority of youth addicted to drugs and alcohol.

Table 2.11: Observations on nature of community /society

Observation	Number	Percent
Low income residential areas	145	40
Middle income group families	126	35
High income group residential area	67	19
Self-employed households in majority	23	6
Majority youth addicted to drugs and alcohol	27	8

Chapter 3

Socio-Economic Status of Families of Survivors

The 1984 anti-Sikh riots resulted in mass killings, physical attacks of horrific proportions, large-scale destruction of physical assets, and displacement of people. Ramifications of these criminal acts are not hard to fathom, as the survivors lost bread-winners of their families, livelihood assets, houses, physical assets, and even had to flee from riot-hit areas. With their resettlement in new locations, new economic beginning, acceptance of alternate vocations by many, and the new dynamics of life thrust upon them; the survivors had to start life afresh socially, economically, and in other domains.

One key aspect that raises questions in mind in this context is in regard to the extent of adaptability of survivors to new dynamics. Have they been able to cope with the new realities of life? Are their social status, economic condition and other aspects of life indicative of stability, progress, empowerment and peace? How challenging is life for them now? Answers to these questions are inextricably linked, *inter alia*, to their present socio-economic status, which is the subject matter of this chapter.

3.1. Social Status

Social status has many inter-related dimensions, as analysed below in regard to the families of survivors.

3.1.1. Nature of Neighbourhood

Since social relationship is to certain extent conditioned by the nature of neighbourhood a family lives in, the study sought to know the present status in this regard. While nearly three-fifths of the families are living in Sikh majority areas, one-fourth of the total sample comprises of residents of areas known for exclusive habitation of Sikhs. The remaining families (17%) currently live in mixed communities.

Table 3.1: Nature of neighbourhood of families of survivors

Nature	Number	Percent
Exclusive Sikh residents	91	25
Mixed communities	62	17
Sikh majority	207	58
Total	360	100

3.1.2. Nature of relationship with neighbourhood

Most of the families hardly face any challenging situations in the neighbourhood, as 97% families do not face difficulties while dealing with people of their areas. Affirming this further, four-fifths of the respondents rated relationship of their families with people in the immediate neighbourhood as 'moderately good'. While relationship is rated 'good' in case of 17% families and 2.5% rated it as 'very good', only 2.5% families share 'bad' relationship with their neighbours. In other words, share of families whose relationship with community people is not cordial is negligible.

Overwhelming positive ratings indicate good social relationship that families of survivors have with their neighbours. This could also be corroborated with the views shared by community members during FGDs. Since the families have been living in the present localities since past many years, they generally have good relationship with their neighbours.

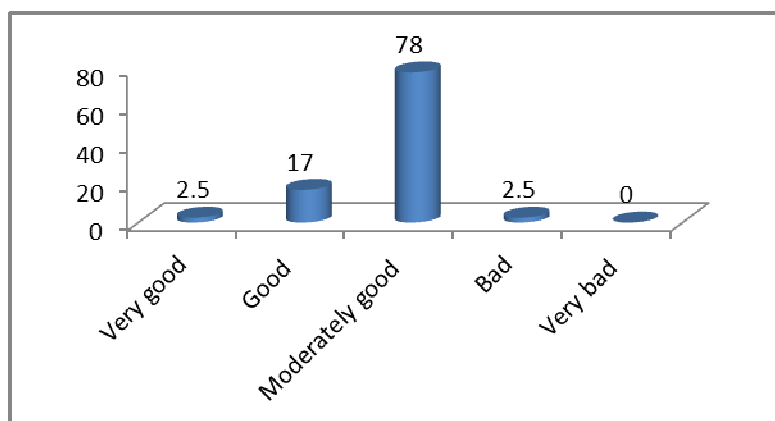
Table 3.2: Status of families facing challenges in neighbourhood

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	10	3
No	350	97
Total	360	100

Table 3.3: Rating of relationship of families with immediate neighbourhood

Rating	Number	Percent
Very good	9	2.5
Good	61	17
Moderately good	281	78
Bad	9	2.5
Very bad	0	0
Total	360	100

Chart 3.1: Rating of relationship of families with immediate neighbourhood (percentage)



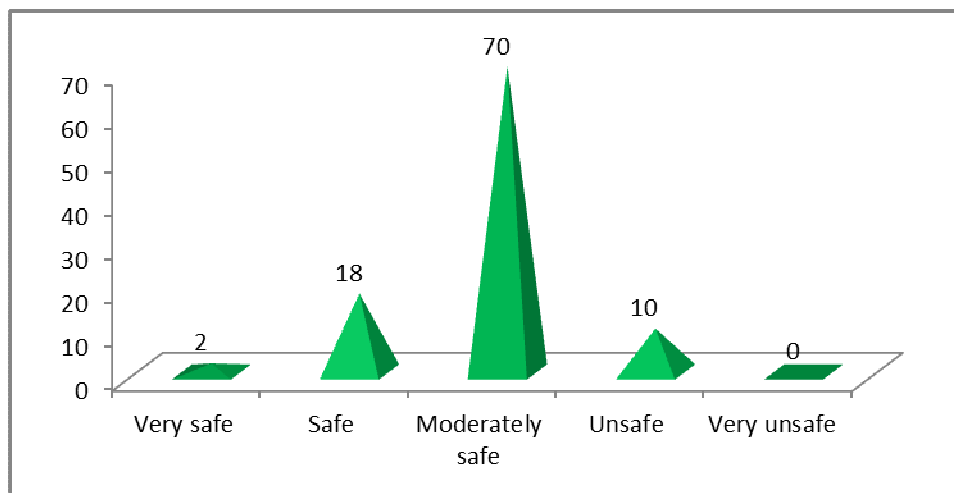
3.1.3. Safety and Security of Families

Good relationship with people in the neighbourhood is further reflected in the views of people in regard to safety and security of families, as indicated in the table below. Except 10% respondents who feel 'unsafe' in the areas in which they live in, others gave positive ratings, although of varying degrees. While 70% families feel moderately safe in their areas, 18% rated their areas 'safe' and 2% 'very safe'. In other words, safety and security of survivors and their families is not a major concern in the areas they currently live in. Views gathered during FGDs also do not indicate any challenges to safety and security of survivors.

Table 3.4: Rating of safety and security of families in areas of living

Rating	Number	Percent
Very safe	6	2
Safe	64	18
Moderately safe	252	70
Unsafe	38	10
Very unsafe	0	0
Total	360	100

Chart 3.2: Rating of safety and security of families in areas of living (percentage)



3.1.4. Civil Society and Participation of Families

In view of the importance of civil society groups or associations and NGOs for welfare and empowerment of people, especially those who have experienced grave challenges, the study looked into the status in this regard on the ground.

It found that only 10% respondents are aware of any such group or organization working in their areas for welfare of Sikh community. Out of the total aware respondents, over half of them cited Gurudwara committees which are working for the welfare of Sikhs of their areas, and 36% informed about an NGO called Niskaam Sikh Welfare which is active in Tilak Vihar. While 6% respondents said they know DMC, another 6% talked about an NGO, without naming it, which is working in their areas.

The study further revealed very negligible level of participation of aware respondents or their family members in activities of civil society groups or NGOs, as only 8% of them replied in the affirmative.

Table 3.5: People's awareness of civil society group/NGO/association

Awareness	Number	Percent
Yes	36	10
No	321	89
No reply	3	1
Total	360	100

Table 3.6: Name of NGOs/Associations that people are aware of

Rating	Number	Percent
Gurudwara Committee	19	52
DMC	2	6
NGO	2	6
Niskaam Sikh Welfare	13	36
Total	36	100

Table 3.7: Participation in activities of civil society group/NGO/association

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	3	8
No	33	92
Total	36	100

3.2. Occupation and Income

Occupation and income are two key determinants of someone's economic status, as they influence purchasing power, capability to fulfill needs, and ability to save for the future. Following sections contain status of the families covered by this study in regard to different aspects of the two determinants.

3.2.1. Principal Occupations of Families

Employment in the low-paying private sector tops the list of principal occupations with over half of the families (53%) engaged in it. Wage-labour, which is erratic and exceedingly low-paying, occupies the second position in the list with nearly one-fourth of total families' bread-winners engaged in it. The principal occupation of 17% families of survivors is self-employed business and professions like private tuition, legal practice etc., while the share of families working in government sector is only 10%. The study also came across families which have more than one principal occupation among its family members.

Table 3.8: Principal occupations of families

Occupation	Number	Percent
Employment in government sector	35	10
Employment in private sector	192	53
Self-employed business and profession	60	17
Wage labour	88	24
Others	9	3

3.2.2. Additional Sources of Income

Besides the principal occupations noted above, some families are also dependent on additional sources of income. The share of such families is 52% of the total sample. Out of families having other sources of income, 98% cited pensions of different kind like old age, widow and post-

retirement as the source¹¹. Only 4% families have rent from house, car, shop etc. as additional sources of income.

Table 3.9: Availability of additional sources of income

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	188	52
No	172	48
Total	360	100

Table 3.10: Additional sources of family income

Occupation	Number	Percent
Pension (old age, widow, post-retirement etc.)	184	98
Rent (house, car, shop etc.)	7	4
Interest/dividend (fixed deposit, mutual fund etc)	0	0
Money from relatives	0	0
Others	0	0

3.2.3. Family Income

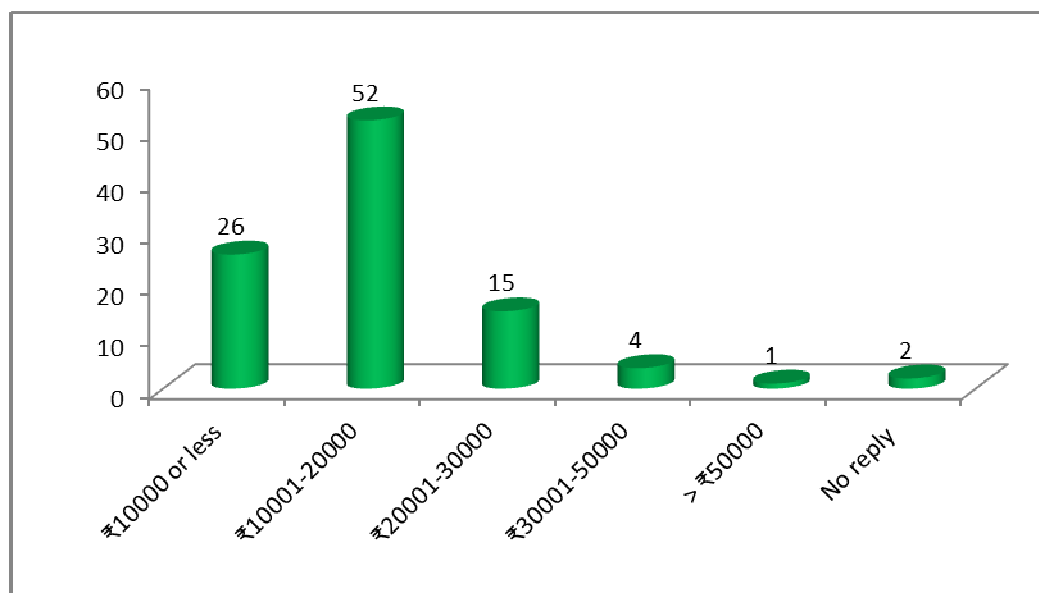
While monthly incomes of little over half of the families are in the range of Rs. 10000-20000, little over one-fourths of the surveyed families earn Rs. 10000 or less — the lowest income category listed in the table below. In other words, nearly four-fifths of total families covered in the study have monthly income in the range of Rs. 20000 or less. Only 15% families are in monthly income bracket of Rs. 20001-30000. The two higher income categories — Rs. 30001-50000 and more than Rs. 50000 have very negligible shares — 4% and 1% families respectively. High concentration of families in lower income brackets indicates their low economic status. This also shows that the economic status of a majority of them has not improved much since the time of riots. Sharing his views with the research team, Senior Advocate H S Phoolka, who has been fighting for the cause of the riot survivors, said that most of the affected families were not economically well off and there were families that could not maintain earlier level of income during post-riots period.

Table 3.11: Monthly family income

Status	Number	Percent
Rs. 10000 or less	95	26
Rs. 10001-20000	188	52
Rs. 20001-30000	53	15
Rs. 30001-50000	16	4
More than Rs. 50000	2	1
No reply	6	2
Total	360	100

¹¹ All these pensions are meagre which can hardly support a family for a week let alone a month.

Chart 3.3: Monthly family income (percentage)

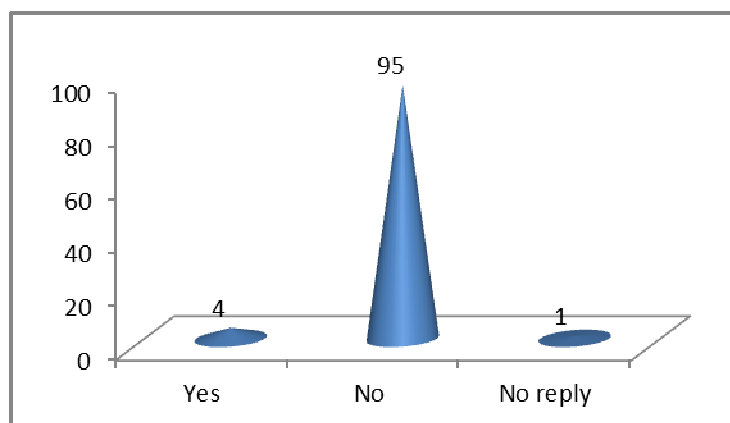


In sync with their low monthly income, overwhelming 95% respondents informed that the income is not sufficient for their monthly family expenditure. The share of families with sufficient income is only 4%.

Table 3.12: Sufficiency of income for monthly expenditure

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	15	4
No	343	95
No reply	2	1
Total	360	100

Chart 3.4: Sufficiency of income for monthly expenditure (percentage)



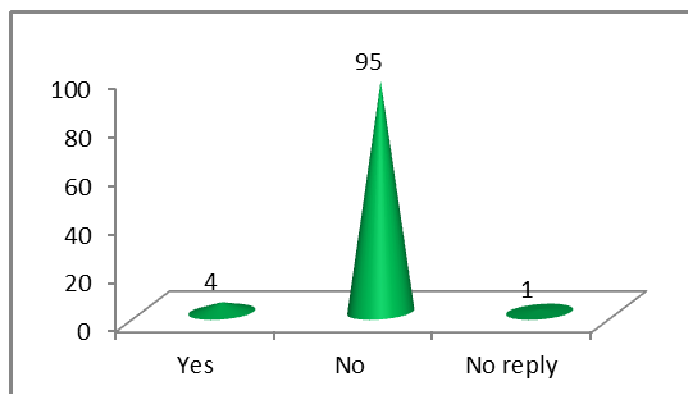
3.2.4. Status of Family Saving

As regards savings, another important barometer of economic status, the study found that only 4% families save money every month. In other words, inadequate monthly income does not allow a vast majority of families to save on a monthly basis.

Table 3.13: Status of families saving money every month

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	16	4
No	341	95
No reply	3	1
Total	360	100

Chart 3.5: Status of families saving money every month (percentage)



Families which save more than Rs. 10000 every month have the highest share (37%) among all the categories noted in table below. This is followed, in descending order, by those in the category of Rs. 1001 to 2000 (19%) and Rs. 5001-10000 (13%). While 6% families each save Rs. 1000 or less and Rs. 2001-5000, 19% respondents did not reveal the amount of monthly saving of their families. With 44% of the families [only 4% of the total sample] which are saving Rs. 10000 or less, it can be said that the quantum of saving is small in case of the majority of families out of those which have the income to save every month.

Table 3.14: Average monthly saving of families

Amount	Number	Percent
Rs. 1000 or less	1	6
Rs. 1001 to 2000	3	19
Rs. 2001 to 5000	1	6
Rs. 5001-10000	2	13
More than Rs. 10000	6	37
No reply	3	19
Total	16	100

3.2.5. Unemployment in Families

Prevalence of unemployment in a family indicated inadequate utilization of its economic potential. Its purchasing power and potential for saving would have been better in the case of the employment of its jobless member(s). The study found that one-fourth of the total families of survivors have unemployed members. Out of these families, 83% have only one unemployed person in each family and the remaining 13% have two such persons in each family.

Table 3.15: Families having unemployed persons

Status of unemployment	Number	Percent
Yes	90	25
No	270	75
Total	360	100

Chart 3.6: Families having unemployed persons (Percentage)

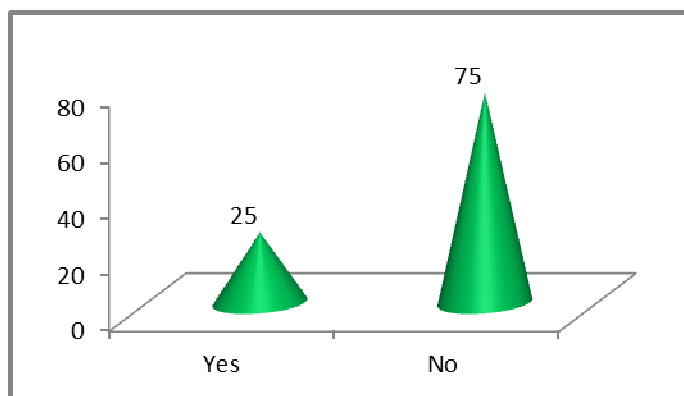


Table 3.16: Number of unemployed persons in families

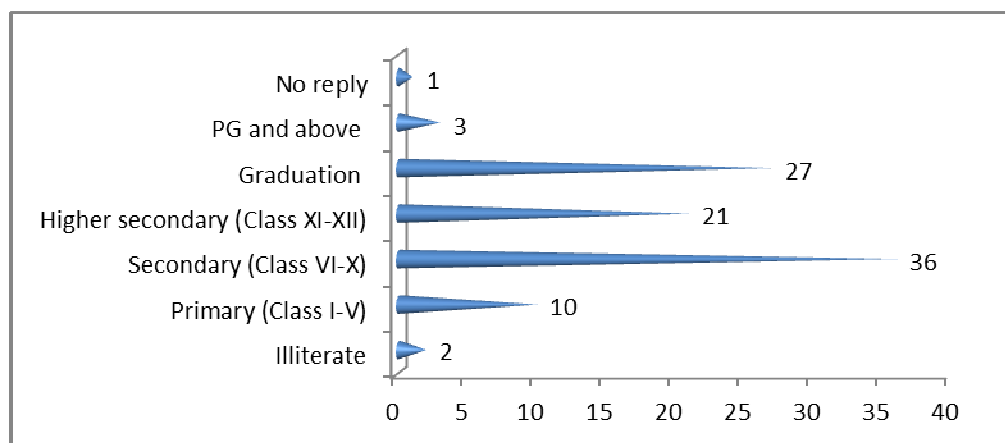
Number	Number	Percent
One	75	83
Two	15	17
Total	90	100

Looking into the status of education of unemployed persons, the study found that those with secondary level education (Class VI-X) have the highest share (36% families) among all education categories noted in the table below. They are followed by graduates who are found in 27% families, higher secondary (Class XI-XII) (21%), and primary (Class I-V) (10%) levels in descending order. While 3% families have unemployed people who possess post-graduation (PG) or higher level of education, unemployed members of 2% families are found to be illiterates. These findings show low level of educational attainment of a majority of unemployed youth, as those with secondary or lower level education are found in nearly half of the total families which have unemployed people.

Table 3.17: Qualifications of unemployed persons

Number	Number	Percent
Illiterate	2	2
Primary (Class I-V)	9	10
Secondary (Class VI-X)	32	36
Higher secondary (Class XI-XII)	19	21
Graduation	24	27
PG and above	3	3
No reply	1	1
Total	90	100

Chart 3.7: Qualifications of unemployed persons (percentage)



Since employable skills have a bearing on unemployment status, the study looked into the extent to which unemployed youth of families of survivors possess such skills. Unemployed people of 59% families do not possess any technical skills that would help them gain employment. Out of the remaining, 18% (the highest) families have unemployed people who know automobile driving. They are followed by youth of 12% families who have received computer software and hardware training, and youth in 5% families possess skills for repair of electronic items in descending order. While 3% families have unemployed people trained in cutting and tailoring, shares of three other skills namely automobile repair, accounts and use of Tally accounting programme, and beauty care are 1% families each.

Table 3.18: Skills of unemployed persons

Skills	Number	Percent
Repair of electronic items (TV, AC repair)	4	5
Driving	16	18
Cutting and tailoring	3	3
Compute course (software and hardware)	11	12
Automobile repair	1	1
Accounting and Tally prog.	1	1
Beauty care	1	1
No skill	53	59
Total	90	100

3.3. Financial Hardship

Financial hardship broadly refers to a situation in which a person or family faces difficulties in meeting expenditure according to requirements, as the available income is less than the money needed. While the degree of financial hardship may vary depending on the nature of unfulfilled needs, it has the potential of causing long-term turmoil if short-term financial difficulties take the shape of long-term liabilities in the form of loans or other financial commitments.

3.3.1. Extent and Nature of Financial Hardship

The study found that 98% families of survivors face financial hardship. Such overwhelming spread of the problem is a clear indication that it affects families of both high and low income

groups in almost equal measure. The study found multiple causes responsible for financial hardship.

The most important cause cited by overwhelming (91%) respondents is the high cost of living in the city. The second important cause is non-availability of regular jobs which affects the financial health of 70% families. Though less prevalent, other causes in descending order of value are: high medical expenses (28%), high cost of education (20%), irregular payment of remuneration (9%), waning customer/client base (2%) in case of self-employed business persons and professionals, and repayment of debt (1%).

Discussions with community members during FGDs revealed that the present economic status of many families has not even reached the level which they had during pre-riots period. The present situation is partly due to a gap in rehabilitation initiatives as analysed in the concerned section below on governmental assistance.

Table 3.19: Status of families facing financial hardship

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	353	98
No	7	2
Total	360	100

Chart 3.8: Status of families facing financial hardships (percentage)

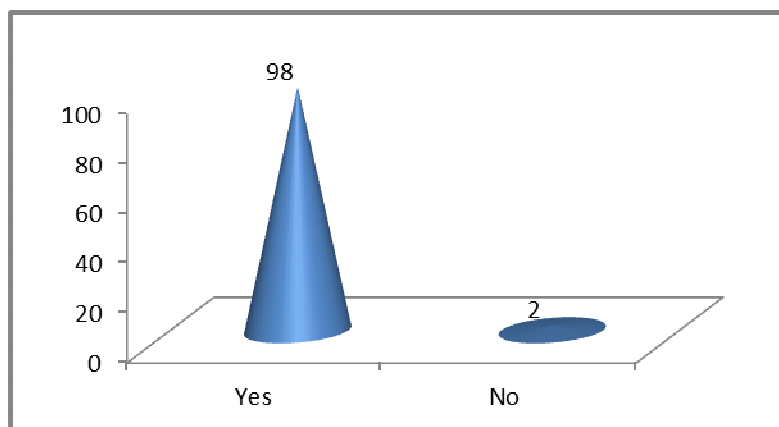
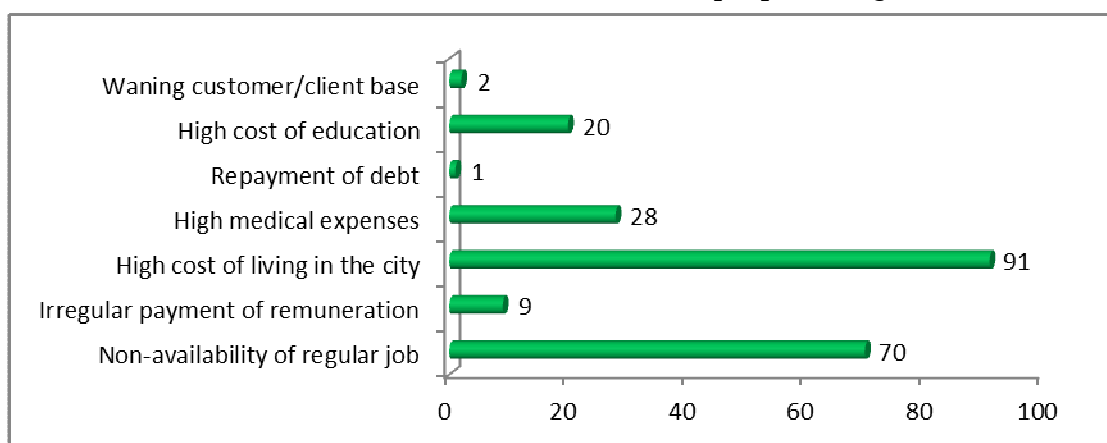


Table 3.20: Causes of financial hardships

Causes	Number	Percent
Non-availability of regular job	247	70
Irregular payment of remuneration	32	9
High cost of living in the city	323	91
High medical expenses	98	28
Repayment of debt	4	1
High cost of education	71	20
Waning customer/client base	8	2

Chart 3.9: Causes of financial hardships (percentage)



3.3.2. Extent and Nature of Financial Liability

Although prevalence of financial hardships is very high, financial liability, which is a sign of deepening financial challenges, is limited to only 3% families in the sample survey for this report. The only cause of financial liability is loans taken by these families. While 73% families have taken loans in the range of Rs. 20001 to 50000, the amounts of loans of remaining 27% families exceed Rs. 50000.

Table 3.21: Status on financial liability

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	11	3
No	349	97
Total	360	100

Table 3.22: Total amount of all loans

Amount	Number	Percent
Rs. 20001 to 50000	8	73
More than Rs. 50000	3	27
Total	11	100

Looking into the purposes of loans, the study found that meeting household needs tops the list with share of 55% families. While loans of 18% families were meant for starting businesses, one family each has taken loan for daughter's marriage and meeting healthcare needs. One respondent did not reveal the reason.

Table 3.23: Purposes of loans

Purpose	Number	Percent
Starting own business	2	18
Daughter's marriage	1	9
Household need	6	55
Health need	1	9
No reply	1	9
Total	11	100

As regards sources of loans, these were taken from government and private sector banks have equal shares — 36.5% each. While private money-lenders have given loans to two families (18%), one respondent did not reveal the source of her loan.

Table 3.24: Sources of loan

Source	Number	Percent
Government bank	4	36.5
Private money-lender	2	18
Private bank	4	36.5
No reply	1	9
Total	11	100

3.4. Access to Insurance and Banks

Like other determinants of economic status noted in earlier sections, access to insurance and banking facilities is an important indicator of a family's economic capability and stability. While insurance is a form of financial security that protects the insured against sudden emergency or loss of any kind including death, access to banking facility allows a person to save money, secure assets, and enjoy multiple other benefits like internet banking, mobile banking etc. which are convenient, safe and efficient these days. Insurance and banking can be considered relevant for survivors of riots, as they have countered uncertainties and loss of life and resources that changed the course of their lives forever.

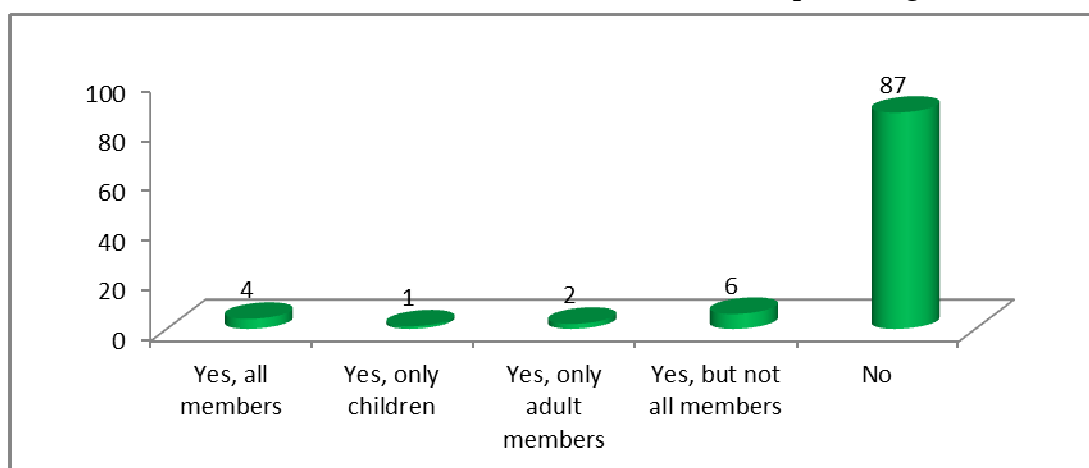
3.4.1. Access to Insurance

Access of families of survivors to insurance is very limited, as only 13% families have some type of access to life insurance. While all family members of only 4% families have access to life insurance, 6% families have access for only some of their members. The study further found 2% families have insured only their adult members and only three families (1%) have done so only for their children.

Table 3.25: Access of families to life insurance

Status	Number	Percent
Yes, all members	16	4
Yes, only children	3	1
Yes, only adult members	6	2
Yes, but not all members	21	6
No	314	87
Total	360	100

Chart 3.10: Access of families to life insurance (percentage)



Access to health insurance is more limited than life insurance as 92% families replied in the negative. Out of 8% families with access to the facility, only 2% families have all the members enjoying the benefit. While 2.5% families have health insurance but not for all members, another 2.5% have the facility for only children and four families (1%) have it for the adult members only.

Table 3.26: Access of families to health insurance

Status	Number	Percent
Yes, all members	7	2
Yes, only children	9	2.5
Yes, only adult members	4	1
Yes, but not all members	9	2.5
No	331	92
Total	360	100

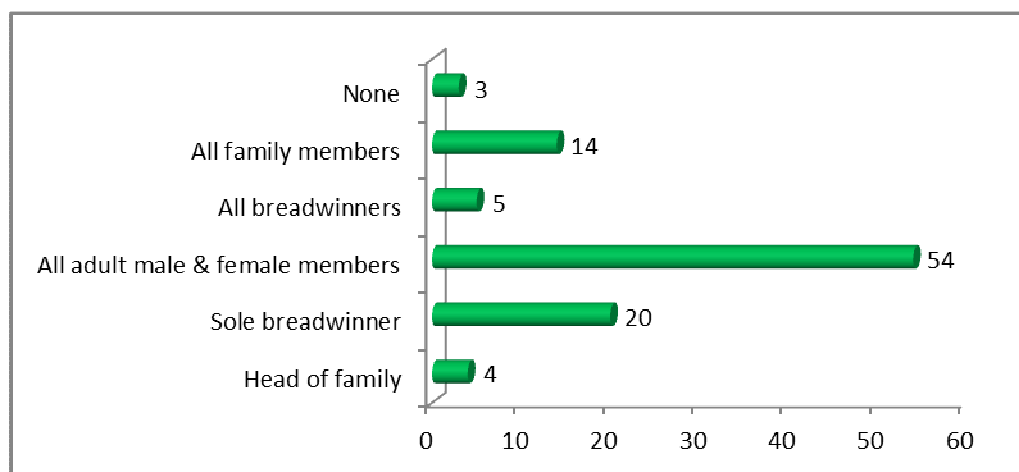
3.4.2. Access to Banking Facilities

For the purpose of the present analysis, possession of a bank account, which is a primary banking instrument, by families of survivors has been considered as an indicator to determine their capability to avail banking services. Unlike insurance, access to banking facility is very high as only 3% families do not possess bank account. Out of families which have accounts in banks (97%), 54% (highest of all) have accounts in the names of all adult male and female members of their families. The second category of families, with 20% share, has bank accounts in the names of their sole breadwinners. This is followed by those which have accounts in the names of all family members (14%), which shows complete and inclusive coverage. While 5% families have accounts in names of all bread-winners, 4% have the facility in the names of the heads of families.

Table 3.27: Status of families in possession of bank account

Status	Number	Percent
Head of family	14	4
Sole bread-winner	72	20
All adult male and female members	195	54
All breadwinners	18	5
All family members	49	14
None	12	3
Total	360	100

Chart 3.11: Status of families in possession of bank account (percentage)



3.5. Housing Status

Besides being a basic human need, ownership of a house shows a person's social and economic status and stability. The study found that 97% families have their own houses and only 3% are presently living in rented houses. It also came to light that those living in rented accommodation do not own any house.

Table 3.28: Housing status of families

Status	Number	Percent
Own house	350	97
Rented house	10	3
House of a relative (not on rent)	0	0
Given by employer	0	0
Others	0	0
Total	360	100

Notwithstanding the ownership positions of the families, views of respondents show that three-fourths of the total families are living in houses which are not reasonably spacious for all their family members. Conditions of housing could also be captured through observation of physical parameters like size of houses, physical condition, availability of amenities and others. These

inputs reveal that the number of houses that are well-maintained (41%) is almost same as those in dilapidated condition (42%). While 11% houses are small in size, shares of houses with poor amenities, well-maintained approaching road and proper amenities are 4%, 3% and 2% respectively.

Table 3.29: Availability of reasonable space in present houses

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	89	25
No	271	75
Total	360	100

Chart 3.12: Availability of reasonable space in present houses (percentage)

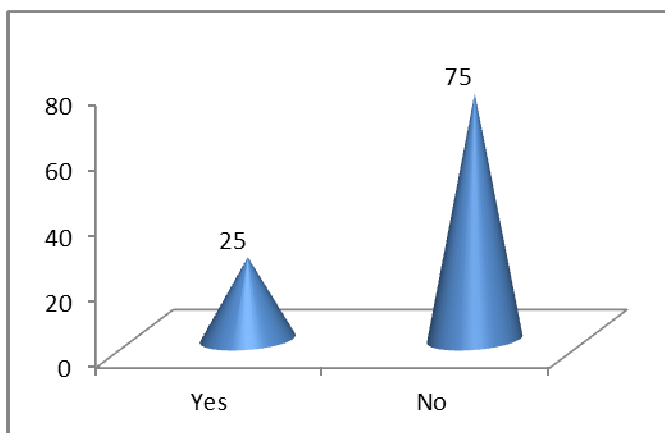


Table 3.30: Observations on conditions of houses

Observations	Number	Percent
Small size houses	41	11
Well-maintained condition	148	41
Dilapidated house	151	42
Poor amenities	13	4
Proper amenities	6	2
Well-maintained approaching road	9	3

3.6. Welfare Schemes and Programmes of Government

Welfare schemes and programmes of the government assume significance for the families of survivors in view their influence on socio-economic and development conditions, as many of the affected families had lost nearly everything in the devastating riots of 1984 and they are yet to recover fully. This section, therefore, focuses on understanding the extent to which governmental initiatives have helped and/or are helping these people in the process of the amelioration of their condition.

3.6.1. Families as Beneficiaries of Government Schemes and Programmes

The study found that only 8% families are beneficiaries of different welfare schemes and programmes of the government. This leaves 92% families who do not avail any entitlements. Out of families which benefit from different schemes and programmes, 46% (the highest) are

beneficiaries of Public Distribution System (PDS) under which food grains and other provisions are provided at subsidized rates. While 43% families receive support in the form of subsidized or no school fee, scholarship etc. for education of their children; 7% families are beneficiaries of pension schemes and one family (4%) has availed LPG connection, job and financial support for marriage of daughter.

Table 3.31: Status of families as beneficiaries of govt. schemes and programmes

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	28	8
No	332	92
Total	360	100

Table 3.32: Names of schemes and programmes of government

Scheme	Number	Percent
PDS	13	46
Assistance for children's education	12	43
LPG connection	1	4
Job	1	4
Financial help for daughter's marriage	1	4
Pension scheme	2	7

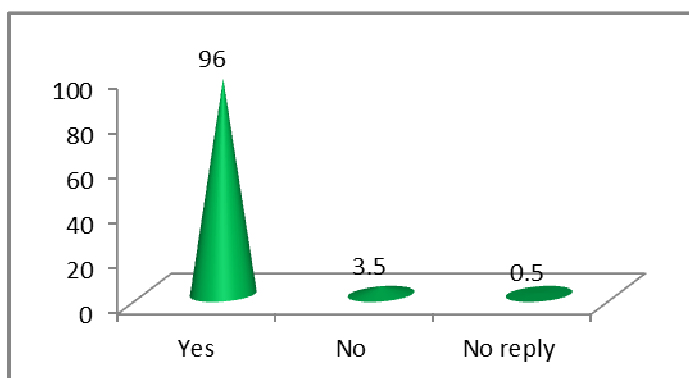
3.6.2. Specific Assistance received as Survivors of Riots

According to the respondents, 96% families have availed specific assistance of government as survivors of 1984 riots. While 3.5% families are in the category of non-receivers, two families (0.5%) did not reveal their status in this regard.

Table 3.33: Governmental support to families as survivors of riots

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	345	96
No	13	3.5
No reply	2	0.5
Total	360	100

Chart 3.13: Governmental support to families as survivors of riots (percentage)

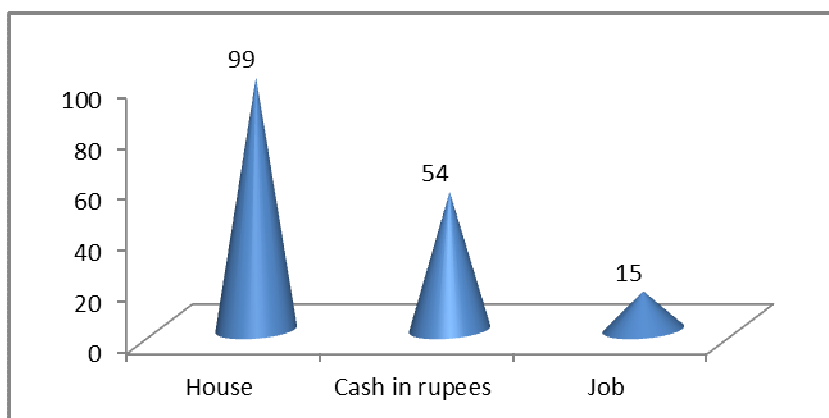


The beneficiary families have received three types of support from the government namely house, cash and job. Nearly all the survivors (99%) have received houses from the government, while 54% have received cash compensation and 15% have been given jobs.

Table 3.34: Type of governmental assistance received by families as survivors

Type of assistance	Number	Percent
House	343	99
Cash in rupees	186	54
Job	51	15

Chart 3.14: Type of governmental assistance received by families as survivors (percentage)



It is important to note that monetary compensation was given by the government in phases: Rs. 10000 in 1985 for fully burnt houses and Rs. 5000 for partially burnt houses, Rs. 10000 in 1987 for those killed during riots, Rs. 3.5 lakh awarded by the Delhi High Court in 1996 to widows and families of those killed, Rs. 3.5 lakh to those killed besides financial assistance to the injured and those who had lost their property in 2006, and Rs. 5 lakh to next of kin of deceased persons in 2014.

As the table below shows, survivors have received financial compensation of varying amount. While nearly one-third of the victims have received compensation in the range of Rs. 1000001-1300000, compensation in the ranges of Rs. 10000 or less, Rs. 10001-50000 and Rs. 50001-200000 have been received by 14%, 11% and 12% families respectively. Three remaining compensation categories have few families under them — 8% each received Rs. 200001-500000 and Rs. 800001-1000000, and 3% for Rs. 500001-800000. The share of respondents who could not reveal the amount of financial compensation was 12%.

Table 3.35: Financial compensation by the government

Amount	Number	Percent
Rs. 10000 or less	26	14
Rs. 10001-50000	21	11
Rs. 50001-200000	22	12
Rs. 200001-500000	14	8
Rs. 500001-800000	6	3
Rs. 800001-1000000	14	8
Rs. 1000001-1300000	60	32
Do not remember	23	12
Total	186	100

3.6.3. Effectiveness of Governmental Assistance

Effectiveness refers to the extent to which purposes of an action are fulfilled. For survivors of the riots, rehabilitation was the key concern in view of the unimaginable level of losses suffered by them. This was also the intent of governmental support noted above.

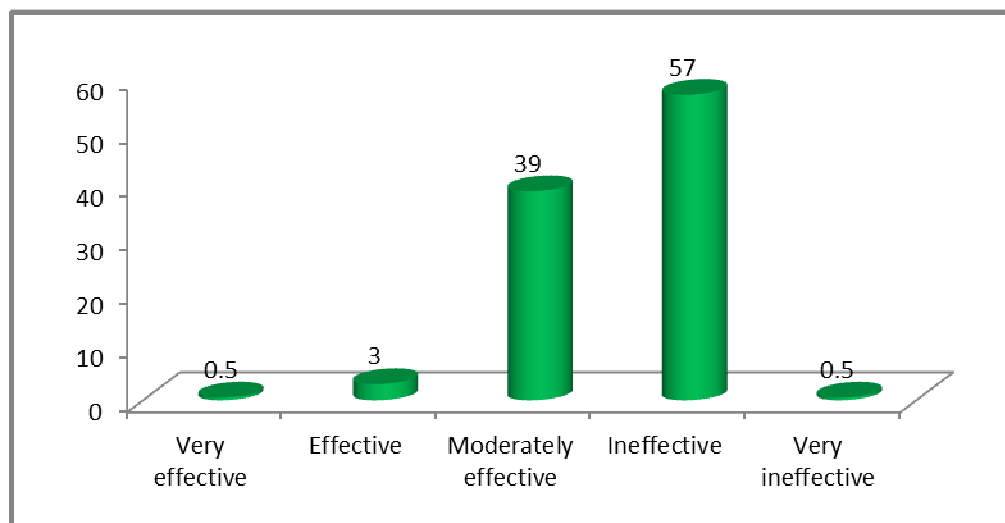
Views of a majority of respondents (57%), however, revealed ineffectiveness of assistance provided by the government. While 39% rated the support as moderately effective, the share of those who gave effective rating was only 3%. Respondent of one family considered the governmental support as very effective and only 0.5% rated the activities as very ineffective.

These views clearly show inadequacy of compensation measures to rehabilitate the survivors and their families. Corroborating the above views, H S Phoolka said that compensation given in tins and bits spread over many years could not rehabilitate the survivors. Similar view was also expressed by Harbhajan Singh, Founder-Member, Nishkam Sikh Welfare Society and other community members during FGDs. Even the survivors who were offered jobs could not achieve the previous economic status of their families, as jobs were given according to their *qualifications* and not according to the past economic status and experience of families. Since many of the widows were not highly qualified, the jobs offered to them did not enable them to earn at par with their previous family income. The economic gap so created continues to persist till date, which in turn contributes partly to the ineffectiveness of governmental assistance.

Table 3.36: Rating of effectiveness of governmental assistance

Rating	Number	Percent
Very effective	1	0.5
Effective	11	3
Moderately effective	136	39
Ineffective	195	57
Very ineffective	2	0.5
Total	345	100

Chart 3.15: Rating of effectiveness of governmental assistance (percentage)



3.7. Non-Governmental Support to Survivors

Looking into the initiatives of NGOs, CBOs and civil society groups for rehabilitation of survivors, the study found that only 8% families have benefitted from non-governmental interventions. However, these support services were available only during the first few years after the riots. While 61% survivors, out of those who had benefitted from non-governmental support, had received food and clothes during their stay in relief camps while one-fourths had received cash benefit. Services like guidance and counseling, provision of household items and healthcare support were availed by very few survivors (4 to 7%).

Table 3.37: Status on received assistance from the NGOs/civil society/CBOs

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	28	8
No	329	91
No reply	3	1
Total	360	100

Table 3.38: Nature of support provided by NGO/civil society/CBOs

Kind of support	Number	Percent
Food and clothes (relief camp)	17	61
Guidance and counseling	2	7
Provision for household items	2	7
Cash	7	25
Medical help	1	4

According to majority of respondents (57%), out of those who have received non-governmental support, Gurudwara Committees were at the forefront of these initiatives. Social workers were also active during the period, as 18% respondents cited their role. While 11% families have received support from NGOs which they could not name, two families each have benefitted from a Christian organization and from another organization called Nishkaam Sewa Trust.

Table 3.39: NGO/civil society/CBOs which support your family

Kind of support	Number	Percent
Gurudwara Committees	16	57
Social worker	5	18
Christian organization	2	7
Nishkaam Sewa Trust	2	7
NGOs (name not specified)	3	11
Total	28	100

As regards the effectiveness of services provided by NGOs, CBOs and civil society, nearly two-thirds of the total non-governmental beneficiaries rated them moderately effective for rehabilitation, while 29% rated the activities ineffective, only 7% found them effective and none rated them either as very effective or very ineffective.

Table 3.40: Rating of effectiveness of non-governmental initiatives

Rating	Number	Percent
Very effective	0	0
Effective	2	7
Moderately effective	18	64
Ineffective	8	29
Very ineffective	0	0
Total	28	100

Chapter 4

Educational Status of Families of Survivors

Education is an important determinant of empowerment as it acts as an avenue of learning, opens up opportunities for employment, and contributes to elevation of socio-economic status in life. It has an overarching influence on multiple aspects of life, and this is especially so for people who have suffered losses of humungous proportion like the survivors of anti-Sikh riots and their family members. It is, therefore, important to understand the status of families in regard to their level of educational attainment and the challenges they face in this regard.

4.1. Level of Educational Attainment

In order to understand the level of educational attainment of families of survivors, the study looked into three aspects namely educational qualifications of respondents, qualification of the person in family with the highest academic accomplishment, and the level of children's education.

4.1.1. Educational Attainment of Families

While over half of the respondents (53%) were found illiterates, shares of those who have studied up to primary and secondary levels are 28% and 15% respectively. Only 3% respondents have studied up to higher secondary level and the share of graduates is only 1%. In other words, most of the literate respondents have studied only up to secondary level.

Table 4.1: Educational qualifications of respondents

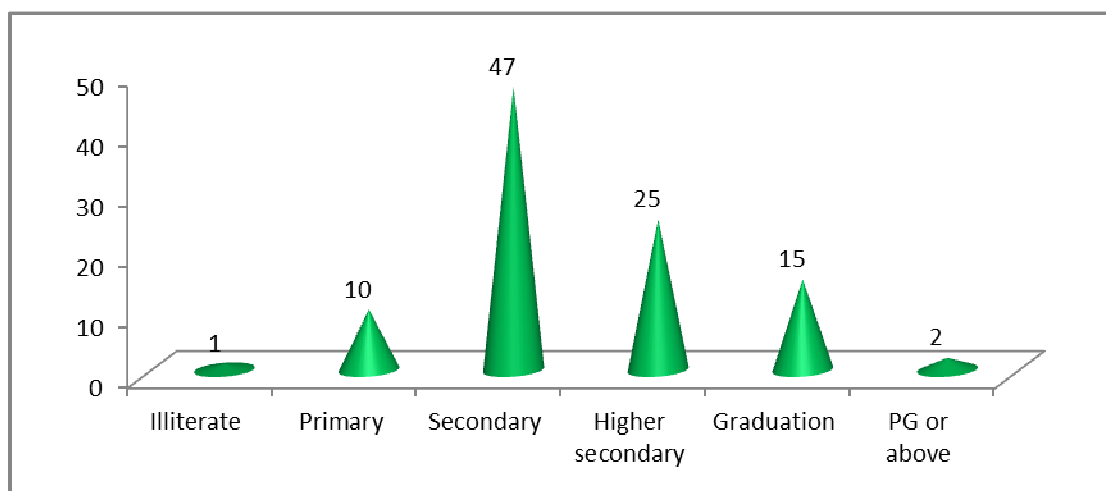
Qualification	Number	Percent
Illiterate	191	53
Primary (Class I-V)	100	28
Secondary (Class VI-X)	55	15
Higher secondary (Class XI-XII)	11	3
Graduation	3	1
Post-graduation or above	0	0
Total	360	100

The level of education of a person who has attained the highest qualification in a family indicates the family's access to and interest in education. In nearly half of families (47%), the persons with the highest level of education have studied up to secondary level. While the highest qualification in one-fourth families is higher secondary, the shares of families in descending order are those with graduation (15%), primary level (10%), PG (2%) as the highest qualifications. Five families (1%) have only illiterates.

Table 4.2: Qualifications of persons with highest educational attainment

Qualification	Number	Percent
Illiterate	5	1
Primary (Class I-V)	36	10
Secondary (Class VI-X)	168	47
Higher secondary (Class XI-XII)	90	25
Graduation	53	15
PG or above	8	2
Total	360	100

Chart 4.1: Qualifications of persons with highest educational attainment (percentage)

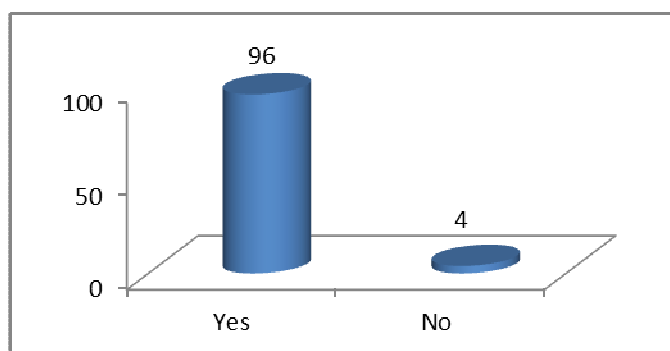


As regards the education of children, the study captured the status of 66% families which have children in the age group of 6 to under-18 years. Out of these families, children of 96% families go to schools.

Table 4.3: Status of children going to schools

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	228	96
No	9	4
Total	237	100

Chart 4.2: Status of children going to schools (percentage)



4.1.2. Status of non-school-going Children

Children who do not go to schools belong to two different categories — those who have never attended schools or ever studied and those who have dropped out. While 22% of families having non-school-going children belong to the first category, the share of families with dropout children is 78%.

Table 4.4: Status of non-school going children

Status	Number	Percent
Never attended school/studied	2	22
Dropped out	7	78
Total	9	100

Among the reasons for never attending school or being a dropout, lack of child's interest in schooling tops the list with share of 45% families out of those who have such children. Two other reasons in descending order of value are lack of proof to secure admission in school and meagre family income.

Table 4.5: Reasons for drop out and not going to school

Reasons	Number	Percent
No proof for getting admission	2	22
Child not interested in schooling	4	45
Meagre income	1	11
No reply	2	22
Total	9	100

It also came to light that in 67% families, out of those having non-school-going or dropout children, such children are boys. While 22% families have girls, one family has both boy and girls. However, these findings, if seen in the light of reasons for dropout or not going to school and the small share of such children in the total sample, do not portray gender as an influence. In other words, gender is not an influence on school dropout

Table 4.6: Gender of non-school-going and dropped out children

Gender	Number	Percent
Boy	6	67
Girl	2	22
Both boy and girl	1	11
Total	9	100

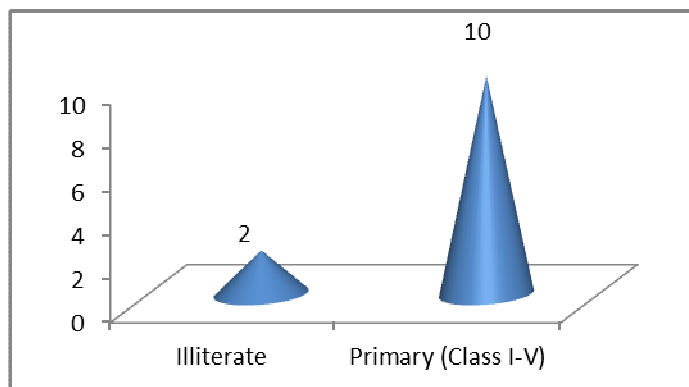
4.1.3. Access to pre-school Education

Pre-school education refers to education of children before commencement of formal schooling at the age of six. Also called pre-primary or nursery education, it is meant for imparting early childhood education to children in the age group of 3 to under-6 years. Out of total families covered in the study, nearly 80% had no children in the category of preschool age. In all the remaining families, except one, children are presently attending pre-schools.

Table 4.7: Status of children going to pre-schools

Status	Number	Percent
Yes	72	99
No	1	1
Total	73	100

Chart 4.3: Status of children going to preschools (percentage)



4.1.4. Gender Divide and Prevalence of Child Labour

The study did not come across any gender divide in education as all the families accord equal importance to education of both girls and boys. Interactions with key informants and community members during FGDs also revealed the absence any discrimination between girls and boys in regard to education.

Child labour is also largely absent in the families of survivors. Out of total sample, only 2% families replied in the affirmative. Children engaged in labour have discontinued their studies.

Table 4.8: Status of children as earning members of family

Child labour	Number	Percent
Yes	7	2
No	353	98
Total	360	100

Chapter 5

Key Challenges and Suggestions

While delineating the socio-economic and educational status of families of survivors, analyses in the foregoing chapters principally deal with challenges faced by these families in the three domains of study (social status, economic position and educational attainment).

In order to complement the earlier analyses, it was considered important to capture views of the respondents in regard to challenges that survivors and their families face in general. Since the events of 1984 form the context of this analysis, it is logical to first discuss the financial and educational losses suffered by the victim families covered in this survey prior to analyzing the macro-level scenario in regard to challenges they face.

5.1. Nature of Financial Loss, and Damages to Families

Elaborating the nature of loss to families of survivors, the respondents highlighted multiple types of damages and financial loss that they suffered due to the riots. At the top of list are the families whose entire houses were burnt down (68%) by the rioters. They are followed by families whose houses were robbed (43%) and whose family members were killed (31%) in descending order.

Other losses of lesser intensity are burning of shops and factories (8%), physical injuries to family members (5%), burning of vehicles like cars, auto-rickshaws etc. (2%) and land encroachment (1%). It is also evident that many families suffered multiple damages causing financial loss, mental trauma, dislocation and loss of livelihood.

Table 5.1: Financial loss and damages caused due to riots

Nature of loss	Number	Percent
Robbery in house	154	43
Burnt entire house	246	68
Killing of family members	111	31
Burnt shop and factory	27	8
Burnt car, auto etc.	8	2
Land encroachment	5	1
Injury of family members	18	5
Do not know	8	2

5.2. Nature of Educational Loss

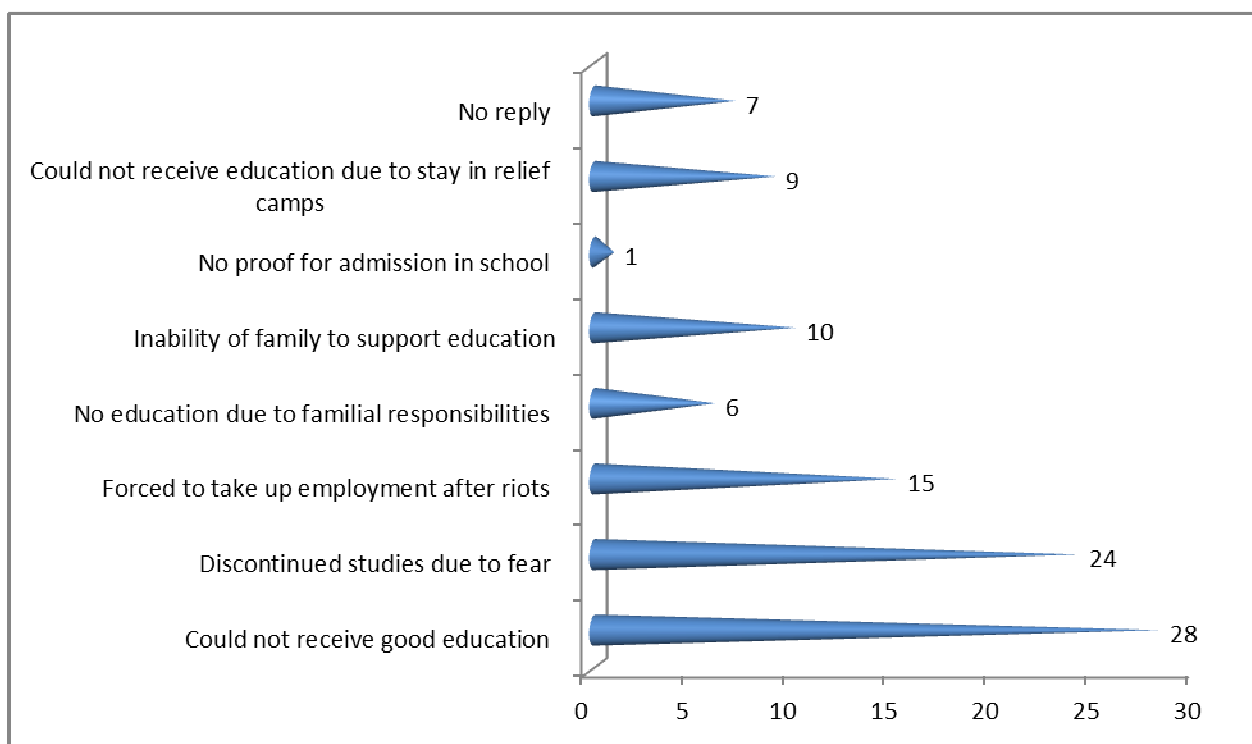
The critical situations that families of survivors faced after the riots adversely affected education of children in terms of quality and continuity. While children of 28% families could not receive quality education and those of 24% families discontinued their studies due to fear, children in 15% families were forced to discontinue studies and take up jobs after riots as earning money took precedence over education due to loss of family income. Interactions with families further revealed that children of 10% families could not be suitably educated due to lack of family income and 9% families could not manage continuation of their children's education as they

lived in relief camps. While education of children in 6% families was disrupted as children were forced to take care of siblings, household chores and other activities; children in four families (1%) could not be admitted to schools due to lack documents needed for admission.

Table 5.2: Nature of loss to education suffered by families

Nature of loss	Number	Percent
Could not receive good education	99	28
Discontinued studies due to fear	88	24
Forced to take up employment after riots	53	15
No education due to familial responsibilities	22	6
Inability of family to support education	37	10
No proof for admission in school	4	1
Could not receive education due to stay in relief camps	33	9
No reply	24	7
Total	360	100

Chart 5.1: Nature of loss to education suffered by families (percentage)



5.3. Nature of Present Socio-Economic and Educational Challenges

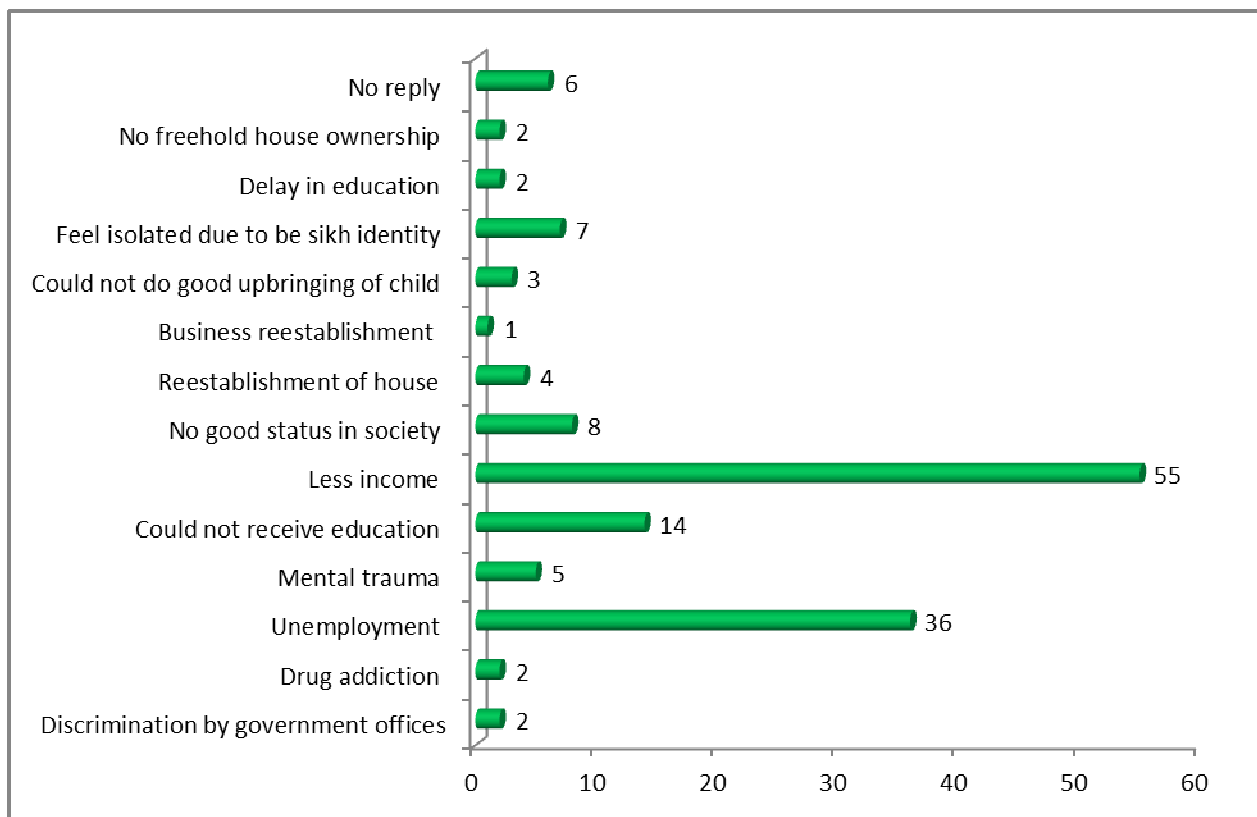
In the opinion of people in the affected area, families of survivors in general face multiple socio-economic and educational challenges. As the table below shows, top three challenges in descending order are less family income (55%), unemployment (36%) and inability to receive quality education (14%). Other socio-economic and educational challenges include low social status, feeling of isolation due to Sikh identity, mental trauma, housing, failure to groom

children properly, drug addiction, delay in education, lack of freehold (self-owned)¹² house, discrimination by government officers, and re-establishment of business.

Table 5.3: Socio-economic and educational challenges faced by families

Challenge	Number	Percent
Unemployment	128	36
Mental trauma	18	5
Inability to ensure quality education	51	14
Less income	198	55
Low social status	30	8
Housing	13	4
Discrimination by government offices	7	2
Drug addiction	8	2
Business reestablishment	5	1
Inability to afford good upbringing of children	9	3
Feel isolated due to be Sikh identity	25	7
Delay in education	8	2
No freehold house ownership	7	2
No reply	21	6

Chart 5.2: Socio-economic and educational challenges faced by families (percentage)



¹² The houses these families own are not freehold property. For some families this is a problem as they face difficulties in selling their houses. In this section, seven respondents (2%) cited freehold status of house as a challenge.

Inputs gathered during FGDs show that economic challenges in the form of unemployment and low income are more manifest than social challenges. However, addiction of youth to drugs and gambling is a major challenge according to some community members. Prevalence of unemployment and low educational attainment are key reasons for the youth to move towards drugs and deviant behaviour.

Interaction of community members during FGDs and views of key informants also reveal disruption of education in the aftermath of riots and persistence of the challenge even now despite the passage of over three decades over those painful events.

In the opinion of people, education of children has passed through two trajectories and a third one is presently evident. While death and destruction very adversely affected education of children in the immediate aftermath of riots, the problem persisted for many years thereafter as children remained under trauma and some even became addicted to drugs. Now into third generation, children and their families want education, but poor economic status of families often dissuade children from pursuing quality and higher education.

5.4. Suggestions for Socio-Economic and Educational Development of the Riots Survivors

Survivors and their family members suggested many measures for their socio-economic and educational development. Provision of A government job to at least one family member tops the list of suggestions with nearly three-fourths of the respondents favouring it. Financial compensation to non-receivers is the second demand in the list with a share of little over one-fourths of the respondents. This is followed by three important measures namely free education in private schools, access to quality education, and support to establish new businesses in descending order.

Other measures suggested by lesser numbers of respondents (in the range of 1 to 3%) are provision of free water and electricity, skill-training and placement, pension for survivors, efforts against drug addiction, provision of medical assistance and timely reward of compensation to the affected families.

Notwithstanding the focus on education, health, safety and security, the rationale behind most of the suggestions is the desire of survivors and their families to save money and ensure their long-term economic well-being. This is in sync with their poor financial status, inability to save money, level of unemployment, and other disabling conditions noted in earlier chapters, which are a direct result of the riots which devastated their lives.

Table 5.4: Suggestions for socio-economic and educational development

Suggestion	Number	Percent
Provision of government job to at least one family member	260	72
Free of cost education in private school	65	18
Financial compensation to non-receivers	97	27
Provision of free of cost water and electricity	11	3
Provision of pension for survivors	8	2
Support to establish new business	46	13
Access to good quality education	54	15
Compensation should be received timely	5	1
Skills training and placement	11	3
Efforts against violence and riots	7	2
Provision for medical help	4	1
Efforts against drug addiction	7	2
No reply	26	7

Chapter 6

Conclusions

Conclusions of the study noted below have been arrived keeping in view the socio-economic and educational status of survivors and their families, and the nature of challenges faced by them in the three domains.

6.1. Profile of Survivors and Their Families

The survivors are mostly females. They are mostly in the age group of 46 years or above, and those who were young at the time of the riots in 1984. Families of the survivors are moderately big one with over half of them having more than five members. Over four-fifths of the families have up to three living survivors, and very few have four or more survivors. All families were relocated to their current locations between 1985 and 1990. Three-fourths of the total surviving families are living in either low or middle income group localities, and some of these areas have a majority of youth addicted to drugs and alcohol.

6.2. Socio-Economic Status of Families of Survivors

Social Status: Most of the families of survivors live in areas of Sikh majority or exclusively Sikh localities. The families hardly face any challenging situations in the neighbourhood. Safety and security of survivors and their families is not a major concern in the areas they currently live in. The presence of civil society groups in the areas where the families of survivors live and people's participation in their activities are negligible.

Occupation and Income: Dependency of families on private sector employment is high (over half of the surveyed sample), although there are families of daily-wage labourers, self-employed professionals and government sector employees. Most of the families belong to the low income group, as the monthly income of nearly four-fifths of the surveyed sample is in the range of Rs. 20000 or less. The economic status of the majority of families has not improved since the time of riots. Overwhelming, families have less purchasing power, inability to fulfill needs, and inability to save for future due to insufficient income. Prevalence of unemployment in one-fourth of families is another challenge which affects their economic wellbeing. These youth are not highly employable as they have limited access to skills training and are not highly educated or professionally qualified, with over two-thirds falling in the category of senior-secondary or lower level educational achievement.

Financial Hardship: Nearly all families find it difficult to meet their routine expenditure to fulfill their needs due to inadequate availability of disposable income. High cost of living in the city and non-availability of regular jobs are the principal causes of the financial hardship of these families. But the families have mostly avoided taking loans, resulting in very low prevalence of financial liability.

Access to Insurance and Banking: Families have not achieved financial security against loss due to death or unforeseen events as their access to life and health insurance is very limited. However, they are capable of availing banking services as most of them possess accounts in banks.

Housing: Most of the families live in their own houses (97%), though not freehold, which is a mark of stability in life. But absence of reasonably spacious houses, as in the case of three-fourths of families, is not conducive for mental and emotional development.

Welfare Schemes and Programmes of Government: Contribution of governmental programmes and schemes, like PDS and support for education, to the welfare of the families of the survivors is very limited as only a few have availed them (only 8%). However, most of the families have availed one benefit or the other as survivors of 1984 riots. While nearly all have received houses from the government, governmental support also includes cash compensation and jobs. However, these benefits have largely been either ineffective or moderately effective as they were given in phases spread over several years and even decades. These facilities were not sufficient to rehabilitate the survivors and their families adequately.

Non-Governmental Support to Survivors: Non-governmental support to survivors was very limited, and was available only during the first few years after the riots.

6.3. Educational Status of Families of Survivors

Level of Educational Attainment: The respondents, over half of whom are illiterates, have mostly studied up to the secondary level. Level of the educational attainment of riot victim families is also not high as access to higher level degrees like Graduation and Post-Graduation is very limited. The empowering influence of education is not very manifest due to low level of educational attainment of the survivors and their older children. However, it is encouraging to find high degree of access of the new generation of children to education both at school and pre-school levels.

Gender Divide and Prevalence of Child Labour: The families accord equal importance to education of girl and boy. Child labour is also largely absent.

6.4. Key Challenges

Nature of Financial Loss, and damages to Families: While survivors and their families suffered on multiple counts; burning of houses, robbery and killing of male family members are found to be three most manifest damages/causes having financial and non-financial ramifications.

Nature of Loss to Education: Nature of loss to education manifested in many ways as the traumatic riots resulted in lack of access to good education, discontinuation of studies due to fear and the need to earn for the families' survival, inability of families to financially support education, and other constraining factors due to death and destruction.

Nature of the Present Socio-Economic and Educational Challenges: Families of survivors in general presently face three key challenges *viz.*, less family income, unemployment, and inability to ensure quality education. While social challenges are present in the form of low social status, feeling of isolation due to Sikh identity and drug addiction; they are less visible in comparison to the economic challenges, especially low income and unemployment. Although deaths, trauma and other factors adversely affected education in the past, families now want quality and higher education for their children but are dissuaded due to their poor economic status.

Chapter 7

Recommendations

This study recommends the following measures to address the identified six socio-economic and educational challenges faced by families of the survivors of the 1984 riots. Each recommendation has been made keeping in view the challenge that it intends to address. The agencies that should implement each recommendation have also been noted below.

Identified challenges	Recommendations to address the challenge	Agencies that should implement the recommendations
1. Low social status, feeling of isolation, drug addiction and gambling	Targeted campaigns should be organised in the areas where families of survivors live with the help of IEC material and community meetings with participation of both Sikh and non-Sikh people.	DMC in partnership with NGOs, CBOs and civil society groups active in the concerned areas
2. Families face unemployment, and less purchasing power, inability to fulfill needs, and inability to save for future	Skills training should be organised for unemployed youth and women of different age groups in their same areas where they live at present. Skills should be identified keeping in view their potential for wage and self-employment. They should also factor in employment of trainees locally <i>i.e.</i> , areas and districts they live in.	DMC in partnership with NGOs, CBOs, civil society groups and government institutes having experience in and facilities for organizing skills training.
3. Inadequate access to life and health insurance	Targeted campaigns, recommended above, should include sensitization of people for accessing insurance and other financial instruments like mutual funds that have potential for long-term financial security.	DMC in partnership with NGOs, CBOs and civil society groups active in the concerned areas.
4. Low access to entitlements, and welfare programmes and schemes	Efforts should be made by concerned government departments and agencies to plug the holes in the system in order to achieve access of all those who are eligible for entitlements.	Departments of Social Welfare, Food and Civil Supplies, Education, district-level agencies and others responsible for administration of various schemes and programmes. DMC may play the role of facilitator in the process.

5. Inability of families to afford quality education for their children	Government may consider providing merit-cum-means scholarships and access to tutorial services to all deserving children at least up to the senior secondary level.	Department of Education. Private tutorial service providers may also be roped in for the purpose on a cost-sharing basis.
6. Non-receipt of financial compensation	Government may consider giving jobs to extremely deserving cases and financial compensation or pension to non-receivers after conducting proper assessment of needs and genuineness of each case that is brought to its notice. Access to low-interest credit facility for those planning to start new businesses may also be considered.	Government of NCT of Delhi. DMC may liaise with concerned departments and play the role of a facilitator. Banks and other institutional creditors, and concerned departments of the Government of NCT of Delhi.

Annexure – Research Tools

Interview Schedule for Survivors

Study of Socio-economic and educational Status of survivors of 1984 Anti-Sikh Riots in Delhi

Conducted by Human Development Society, Delhi

Commissioned by Delhi Minorities Commission (DMC), Government of NCT of Delhi

Respondent No. (for office use only):

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Instructions: Wherever there are options for a question, circle the serial number of correct answer. If more than one answer is possible for a question, circle the serial numbers of all options chosen by the respondent. Answers to open-ended questions should be written on the given dotted lines.

Who the respondents should be: The respondents should be survivors of anti-Sikh riots or their adult family members in the age group of 18 years or above. However, preference for the interviews should be given to the survivor(s) of family. If the survivor is unwilling or unavailable for conversation, other adult family members can be interviewed. A survivor has been defined for our study as *‘a person who has remained alive after the anti-Sikh riots in which the person’s family was attacked leading to death, incapacitation, physical or sexual assault of family members, destruction of property, and/or other collateral damages.’*

1. Survey Data

Name of respondent: Tele./Mobile No.:

Address of respondent:

2. General Profile of Survivor and Family

2.1. Respondent’s link with the 1984 riots: 1. Survivor 2. Family member of survivor

2.2. Respondent’s gender: 1. Male 2. Female 3. Transgender

2.3. Age of respondent (in completed years):

2.4. Number of respondent’s present family members:

2.5. Number of riot survivors presently living in the family:

2.6. Number of male survivor presently living in the family:

2.7. Number of female survivor presently living in the family:

2.8. Age of the oldest survivor presently living in the family (in completed years):

2.9. Was your residence relocated following the riots? 1. Yes 2. No

2.10. Month and year in which relocation of your residence took place: Month
..... Year

2.11. If yes to q. n. 2.9, name the place of your residence at the time of riots:
.....

2.12. Interviewer's brief observation on **nature of community/society the family lives in** (e.g. cluster of low income families, high-end society, slums, society of different occupation groups etc.):
.....

3. Socio-Economic Status of Survivor and Family

Social Status

3.1. Describe the kind of residential area/housing society/colony you are presently living in:

1. Exclusive Sikh residents 2. Mixed communities 3. Sikh majority
4. Others (specify):

3.2. Does your family face challenges in relation to the people in your neighbourhood? 1. Yes
2. No

3.3. If yes to q. n. 3.2, please elaborate the nature of challenges:
.....

3.4. Please rate your family's relationship with people in immediate neighbourhood:

1. Very good 2. Good 3. Moderately good 4. Bad 5. Very bad

3.5. How would you rate your family's safety and security in your present area/housing society/colony?

1. Very safe 2. Safe 3. Moderately safe 4. Unsafe 5. Very unsafe

3.6. Are you aware of any civil society group/NGO/association working in your area (or elsewhere) for welfare of Sikh community?

1. Yes 2. No

3.7. If yes to q. n. 3.6, please share the name of the group or association:

.....

3.8. If yes to q. n. 3.6, are you or anyone of your family associated with the activities of the above civil society group/NGO/association?

1. Yes

2. No

Occupation and Income

3.9. What are the principal occupations of your family? (multiple answers possible)

1. Employment in government sector

2. Employment in private sector

3. Self-employed business
etc)

4. Self-employed profession (doctor, advocate, tutor

5. Wage labour

6. Others (Specify):

3.10. Does your family have any other sources of income apart from the ones noted in q. n. 3.9?

1. Yes

2. No

3.11. If yes to q. n. 3.10, please share the other sources of family income: (multiple answers possible)

1. Pension (old age, widow, post-retirement etc.)

2. Rent (house, car, shop etc.)

3. Interest/dividend (fixed deposit, mutual fund etc.)

4. Money from relatives

5. Others (Specify):

3.12. Monthly income of your family: Rs.

3.13. Is the above income sufficient for family's monthly expenditure?

1. Yes

2. No

3.14. Does your family save money every month?

1. Yes

2. No

3.15. Average monthly saving of your family: Rs.

(If necessary, researcher should ask for total yearly saving and calculate the average by dividing the amount by 12.)

3.16. Does your family have any unemployed person?

1. Yes

2. No

3.17. If yes to q. n. 3.16, please share the number unemployed person:

3.18. If yes to q. n. 3.16, share their qualifications & skills:.....

Financial Hardship

3.19. Is your family facing financial hardships at present? 1. Yes 2. No

3.20. Please elaborate the causes of financial hardship: (multiple answers possible)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Non-availability of regular job | 2. Irregular payment of remuneration |
| 3. High cost of living in the city | 4. High medical expenses |
| 5. Repayment of debt | 6. High cost of education |
| 7. Waning customer/client base | 8. Others (Specify): |

3.21. Does your family have any financial liability? 1. Yes 2. No

3.22. If yes to q. n. 3.21, please share the nature of liability:

3.23. If your family has taken loan (refer to q. n. 3.22), please tell total amount of all loans: Rs.

3.24. Refer to q. n. 3.23: Year in which loan was taken (please share year of the oldest loan): ...

3.25. Refer to q. n. 3.23: Please share the outstanding total loan amount (all loans): Rs.

3.26. Refer to q. n. 3.23: Please share the purpose of loan:

3.27. Refer to q. n. 3.23: Please share the source(s) of loan:

Access to Insurance and bank

3.28. Do your family members have life insurance?

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. Yes, all members | 2. Yes, only children | |
| 3. Yes, only adult members | 4. Yes, but not all members | 5. No |

3.29. Do your family members have health insurance?

- | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| 1. Yes, all members | 2. Yes, only children | |
| 3. Yes, only adult members | 4. Yes, but not all members | 5. No |

3.30. Who all in your family have bank accounts?

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Head of family | 2. Sole breadwinner | |
| 3. All adult male and female members | 4. All breadwinners | |
| 5. All family members | 6. None | 7. Others (specify): |

Housing

3.31. Please share ownership status of the house in which your family is currently living:

1. Own house 2. Rented house 3. House of a relative (not on rent)
4. Given by employer 5. Others (specify):

3.32. If not living in own house currently (answer to q. n. 3.31 is not 'own house'), does your family have a house of its own?

1. Yes 2. No

3.33. Do you consider your present house reasonably spacious for all family members?

1. Yes 2. No

3.34. Interviewer's brief observation on condition of house the survivor is living at present (e.g. well maintained, dilapidated, good access, proper amenities etc.):

.....

Welfare Schemes/Programmes of Government

3.35. Is your family a beneficiary of any government scheme/programme? 1. Yes 2. No

3.36. If yes to q. n. 3.35, please indicate the names of the schemes/programmes:

.....

3.37. Has your family received any specific assistance from government as a survivor of 1984 riots?

1. Yes 2. No

3.38. If yes to q. n. 3.37, please elaborate the assistance received:

.....
.....

3.39. If yes to q. n. 3.37, month & year in which assistance was **first** received: Month
..... Year

3.40. Name the government department which provided assistance:

.....

3.41. How would you rate effectiveness (extent to which its objectives are fulfilled) of specific assistance that your family received from government as a survivor of 1984 riots?

1. Very effective 2. Effective 3. Moderately effective 4. Ineffective 5. Very ineffective

Support of Non-government/Civil Society/Community-based Organisations

3.42. As a survivor of 1984 riots, has your family received any support from non-government/ civil society / community-based organisations which helped in rehabilitation?

1. Yes 2. No

3.43. If yes to q. n. 3.42, please elaborate the kind of support received:

3.44. If yes to q. n. 3.42, month and year in which support was first received: Month
..... Year

3.45. Name of non-government/civil society/community-based organizations which supported your family:

3.46. How would you rate effectiveness (extent to which its objectives are fulfilled) of support that your family received from non-government agencies as a survivor of 1984 riots?

1. Very effective 2. Effective 3. Moderately effective 4. Ineffective 5. Very ineffective

4. Educational Status Of Survivor And Family

4.1. Your educational qualification:

1. Illiterate	2. Primary (Class I-V)
3. Secondary (Class VI-X)	4. Higher secondary (Class XI-XII)
5. Graduation	6. Post Graduation or above

4.2. Qualification of the family member who has the highest educational attainment:.....

4.3. Are all children of your family (6 to under-18 years of age) studying?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Not applicable

4.4. If 'no' to q. n. 4.3, what is the status of such child(ren)?

1. Never attended school/studied 2. Dropped out 3. Both

4.5. Considering the status noted in q. n. 4.4, please share reasons for ‘never attending school’ or ‘dropout’:

4.6. Considering the status noted in q. n. 4.4, please tell the gender of child who has never attended school/ studied or has dropped out:

1. Boy 2. Girl 3. Both boy and girl

4.7. Are all children of your family aged 3 to under-6 years attending pre-school?

1. Yes 2. No

- 4.8. If answer to q. n. 4.7 is no, please share the reasons for the same:

 4.9. Does your family consider education of girl and boy with equal importance? 1. Yes 2. No
 4.10. Does your family have any child who is an earning member of family? 1. Yes 2. No
 4.11. If yes to q. n. 4.10, is that child studying? 1. Yes 2. No

5. Key Challenges And Suggestions

- 5.1. Elaborate the financial loss and damages caused to your family due to riots:

 5.2. Elaborate the loss to education of family's survivors due to riots

 5.3. Key socio-economic and educational challenges that survivors of 1984 anti-Sikh riots are facing at present:

 5.4. Your suggestions for socio-economic and educational development of survivors of the anti-Sikh riots:

Date:..... Signature of interviewer:

Schedule for Key Informant Interviews

Study of Socio-economic and educational Status of Survivors of 1984 Anti-Sikh Riots in Delhi

Conducted by Human Development Society, Delhi

Commissioned by Delhi Minorities Commission (DMC), Government of NCT of Delhi

1. Survey Data

Name of the key informant:

Professional/social position:

Telephone/mobile no.:

2. Socio-Economic Status Of Survivors

2.1. Please briefly share your work/experience of working with the survivors of 1984 anti-Sikh riots.

.....
.....

2.2. What are the social challenges that the survivors are facing at present

.....
.....

2.3. How are the challenges noted in q. n. 2.2 different from the social challenges faced by other communities?

.....
.....

2.4. Please briefly share the challenges, if any, faced by survivors to their safety and security.

.....
.....

2.5. How would you describe the economic status of the families of survivors and the challenges they face?

.....
.....

3. Educational Status Of Survivors

3.1. Your comments on level of educational attainments of survivors and their family members

.....
.....
3.2. Please share your views on challenges faced by the survivors to their educational development
.....
.....

3.3. Your comment on prevalence of gender divide in education (preferential treatment of boys or girls), if any
.....
.....

4. Rehabilitation and Access to Entitlements

4.1. Please share your comments on rehabilitation efforts of government with focus on their effectiveness.
.....
.....

4.2. Please share your comments on non-government rehabilitation efforts with focus on their effectiveness.
.....
.....

4.3. Do the families of survivors now require assistance for economic rehabilitation? 1. Yes
2. No

4.4. Your suggestions for socio-economic and educational development of survivors of the anti-Sikh riots:
.....
.....

4.5. Please share your views on any other issue that in your view are important for understanding the present socio-economic and educational status of survivors of 1984 anti-Sikh riots.
.....
.....

Date:.....

Signature of Key

Informant/interviewer:.....

Format for Focus Group Discussions with Survivors

Study of Socio-economic and educational Status of Survivors of 1984 Anti-Sikh Riots in Delhi

Conducted by Human Development Society, Delhi

Commissioned by Delhi Minorities Commission, Government of NCT of Delhi

Instructions: Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) will be conducted in an informal and interactive environment in the areas where families of survivors are residing. Each FGD will have participation of 5 to 10 survivors of anti-Sikh riots and their family members.

Besides writing down the views of survivors, the following particulars must also be noted for each FGD:

1. Name of area where FGD is conducted
2. Date of FGD

Key Areas for Discussion

1. Social challenges faced by survivors and their families.
2. Safety and security of community.
3. Livelihood capabilities of families of survivors and their economic status.
4. Nature of Economic challenges.
5. Level of educational attainments and challenges faced by survivors in this regard.
6. Rehabilitation efforts of government and their success and failure.
7. Rehabilitation efforts of NGOs, community-based organisations, and their success and failure.
8. Suggestions for socio-economic and educational development of survivors.

The above is an open-ended list. New areas may come up for discussion during the course of FGD.



A Survivor's house in Guru Tegh Bahadur Colony, Sector 16, Rohini



A residential colony of survivors in Rohini



House of a survivor in Rohini, Sector 16



Survivors' residential area in Raja Garden



An FDG in progress with survivors in Raja Garden



A survivor's house in Raja Garden



A view of residential area in Guru Tegh Bahadur Colony, Rohini, Sector 16



A survivor being interviewed in Rohini, Sector 16

DMC Publications

- **Report of the DMC Fact-finding Committee on the North-East Delhi Riots of February 2020 (July 2020)**— <https://archive.org/details/dmc-delhi-riot-fact-report-2020>
- **Socio-Economic and Educational Status of Survivors of the 1984 Anti-Sikh Riots in Delhi (July 2020)**— <https://archive.org/details/dmc-sikh-1984-riot-delhi-status-2020>
- **Socio-Economic and Educational Status of Muslim Women in North East Delhi (July 2020)**— <https://archive.org/details/dmc-northeast-delhi-women-status-2020>
- **Sample Survey of economic, social, political and educational status of EWS Christians in Delhi** — http://dmc.delhigovt.nic.in/wps/wcm/connect/doit_dmc/DMC/Home/Survey+Study+Report
- **The Status of Punjabi and Urdu languages in the administration and schools in Delhi** — http://dmc.delhigovt.nic.in/wps/wcm/connect/doit_dmc/DMC/Home/Survey+Study+Report
- **A study on Education of Muslim children in Delhi: the dynamics of decision-making and possible modes of interventions to promote their educability** — http://dmc.delhigovt.nic.in/wps/wcm/connect/doit_dmc/DMC/Home/Survey+Study+Report
- **A final report on Survey of madrasas in Delhi under madrasa modernisation programme** — http://dmc.delhigovt.nic.in/wps/wcm/connect/doit_dmc/DMC/Home/Survey+Study+Report
- **Analysis report as part of Final Report of Survey of the Minority Girls Students in concentrated area of North East especially in Jafarabad and Okhla in public schools/Govt.schools (2011)** — http://dmc.delhigovt.nic.in/wps/wcm/connect/doit_dmc/DMC/Home/Survey+Study+Report
- **Annual Report 2008-09**
- **Annual Report 2009-10**
- **Annual Report 2010-11**
- **Annual Report 2011-12**
- **Annual Report 2012-13**
- **Annual Report 2013-14**
- **Annual Report 2014-15**
- **Annual Report 2015-2016**
- **Annual Report 2016-2017** — http://dmc.delhigovt.nic.in/wps/wcm/connect/doit_dmc/DMC/Home/Annual+Report
- **DMC's Annual report 2017-18** — <https://archive.org/details/for-archivedmcc-annual-report-2017-18-email>
- **DMC Annual report 2018-19** — <https://archive.org/details/DMC-annual-report-2018-19>
- **DMC Annual report 2019-20** — <https://archive.org/details/dmc-annual-report-2019-20>

- **DMC Awards 2018** — <https://archive.org/details/forarchiveaward2018bookletfinalwithpunjabia4>
- **DMC Awards 2019** — <https://archive.org/details/dmc-2019-awards>
- **Minority Rights - International & National Perspectives** by Prof Aftab Alam — <https://archive.org/details/dmclectonminorityrightsprofafatabalam>
- **Palwal Mosque Fact Finding Report, Oct 2018** — <https://archive.org/details/palwalmosqueoct2018factfindingreportdmc>
- **Problems and Status of Muslim Graveyards in Delhi** — <https://archive.org/details/for-archiveDMC-Graveyard-Report-2018-email>
- **Status & Problems of Christian cemeteries in Delhi: A Report** — <https://archive.org/details/for-archive-DMC-Cemetery-Report-2018-Email>
- **The Legal Status of Religious spaces in and around West Delhi** — <https://archive.org/details/dmc-report-on-illegal-mosques-delhi>
- **Vision, Mandate & Schemes for Minorities of Delhi** — <https://archive.org/details/dmcvisionschemes20dec2017forwebsite>



A 1984 riot survivor being interviewed in Rohini, Delhi



DELHI MINORITIES COMMISSION

(A Statutory Body)

Government of NCT of Delhi

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